DURUY'S GENERAL HISTORY OF THE WORLD

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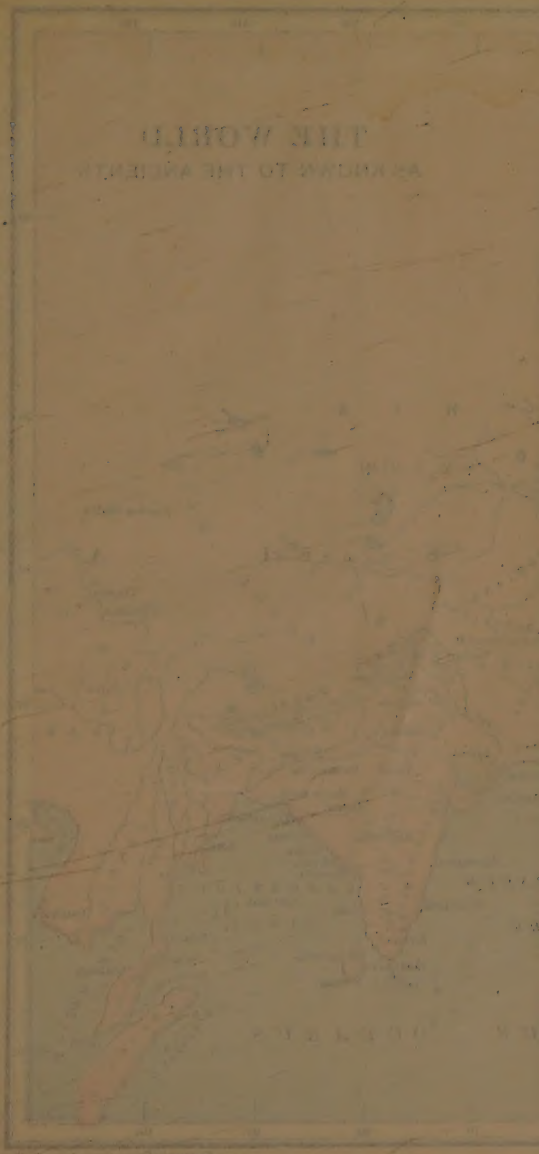
BY

EDWIN A. GROSVENOR



THE WORLD
AS KNOWN TO THE ANCIENTS
Longitude East of Ferro
Longitude East of Greenwich
OCEANUS ATLANTICUS
Oceanus Septentrionalis
THULE
ORCADES I.
HEBUDES I.
CALEDONIA
Davana
BURGOS I.
Verpetrum Pr.
Cimbrorum Pr.
Boreum Pr.
OCEANUS GERMANICUS
Eboracum
Londinium
Novionagus
Regia Altera
Rebae
Nemetum Pr.
Bolerium Pr.
CAESAREA I.
Lutetia
Caesarodunum
Genera
Santones
Burdigala
Trieucum Pr.
Artabrum Pr.
Tudae
Lucus Aug.
Numantia
Caesar Aug.
Narbo
Massilia
Salmantica
Olisipo
Emerita Aug.
Saguntum
Carthago Nova
Toletum
Valentia
Calpe
Gades
Fretum Herculeum
Tingis
Abyla
Sala
Atlas Minor
Atlas M.
FORTUNATAE I.
PHARUSII
PERORSI
LIXITAE
SALATHI
AETHIOPES OF HANNO
MELANO GAETULI
DARADAE
Nigira Metropolis
Capsa
Gira Metropolis
Niger
Libya Palus
NIGRITAE
AETHIOPIA INTERIOR
AETHIOPES HESPERII
SINUS HESPERIUS
GAETULIA
LIBYA DESERTA OR DESERTUM MAGNUM
AFRICA OR LIBYA
PHAZANIA
GARAMANTES
Cydamus
Garama
Thabudis
Prinis Parva
Ptolemais
Thebae
Hermopolis
Ammonium
Memphis
Alexandria
Berenice
Sais
Coptos
Hornos
Thema
Lathrippa
Macoraba
Badei
Thebae Felix
Saba
Adane
Berenice Epidires
Sirbitum
Munda
Upone
Notu Keras
Parvum Littus
Magnum Littus
Nici or Tonici
Mare Prosodis or Aethiopicus
AGISYMBIA BARBARICA OR AZANIA
Aegyptus
Arabia Petraea
Arabia Deserta
Arabia Felix
Sinus Arabicus
Sinus Persicus
Mare Rubrum
Tropicus Cancri
Tropicus Capricorni
Aequator
Thebaica
Libya Superior
Libya Inferior
Mauritania
Numidia
Africa
Fretum Gaditanum
Mare Mediterraneum
Mare Internum
Mare Tyrrhenum
Mare Adriaticum
Mare Aegaeum
Mare Ponticum
Mare Caspium
Mare Rubrum
Sinus Codanus
Sinus Venedicus
Sinus Finnicus
Sinus Sarmaticus
Sinus Issicus
Sinus Cilicius
Sinus Persicus
Sinus Arabicus
Sinus Barygazenus
Sinus Gangeticus
Sinus Magnus
Sinus Perimulicus
Sinus Colchicus
Sinus Gangeticus
Sinus Magnus
Oceanus Septentrionalis
Oceanus Orientalis
Oceanus Indicus
Oceanus Barbaricus
Oceanus Aethiopicus
Oceanus Hyrcanius
Oceanus Caspius
Oceanus Scythicus
Oceanus Sarmaticus
Oceanus Germanicus
Oceanus Britannicus
Oceanus Gallicus
Oceanus Cantabricus
Oceanus Atlanticus
Oceanus Hesperius
Oceanus Aethiopicus
Oceanus Indicus
Oceanus Barbaricus

A GENERAL
HISTORY OF THE WORLD

By

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WITH A SUMMARY OF CONTEMPORANEOUS HISTORY

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INTRODUCTION

To write a general history of the world, particularly in a limited space, is an appalling undertaking. Out of the overwhelming mass of past events, the writer must discern the all-important and imperishable in the life of each people, and then flash it upon the page in language concise, graphic, and comprehensive. Wide learning, keen discernment, philosophic accuracy, and absolute impartiality are essentials. Another requisite is the faculty of terse and pleasing expression. Moreover, the writer must be a man living among men. No recluse is competent to write history in the highest and noblest sense. Events must be marshaled like an army. It is not enough to line them up, soulless and listless, as in the dull sequence of the encyclopedia. The heart of the true historian must pulsate to the heart-beats of mankind.

All these requirements M. Duruy possessed in pre-eminent degree. Minister of Public Instruction (1863-1869), he revolutionized historical education in France. Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor (1867), Senator of the Empire (1869), Member of the Academy (1884), he attained the highest grades of civic and literary distinction. But it was as a historian that he won his permanent renown. A tireless student and author, during his life of over eighty years he knew no such thing as rest. The mere enumeration of his works is bewildering. Among them are a sacred history, based upon the Bible, a history of the Romans in seven volumes, of the Greeks in three volumes, of France in two volumes, of the Middle Ages, and of modern times. Of his publications more than two million copies have been sold in France.

This general history, up to 1848, embodies the condensed results of M. Duruy's researches and reflections. For two reasons, however, thorough revision has been necessary. At times M. Duruy dwells on events, connected with France, at greater length than is desirable for us. Furthermore, history, like science, is progressive

and never standing still. Not rarely does she change her verdicts in consequence of later light. In her domain, however often traveled over, discoveries are constant. Therefore it has been necessary to condense, modify, and enlarge as the perspective of the passing years has changed. Some few chapters have been entirely recast, among them those on the ever-changing Far Eastern and Near Eastern questions.

The work of M. Duruy ends with the year 1848. The latter portion of the book—that devoted to "Contemporary History" and covering the period from 1848 to 1900—was the work of Professor Grosvenor.

As educator and author, this scholarly New England writer has had a training that admirably fitted him to continue the work of the eminent Frenchman, Duruy. Dr. Grosvenor has been professor of modern governments and international law at Amherst College since 1901. He has traveled and lectured extensively and is a member of numerous learned societies. Among the works on general history that have come from his pen are "The Permanence of the Greek Type" (1897) and "Contemporary History" (1899). He was also editor of the "Reference History of the World," in Webster's International Dictionary (1909). In his treatment of the period of Duruy's history from 1848 to 1900, he says, he "sought to continue the same system which, in the earlier portion of the volume, the French author follows so successfully and well," and has endeavored to "avoid the mistakes consequent upon nearness, wherein the recent is prone to fill the sky, and striven to observe just proportion between related facts."

The history of the world during the first decade of the twentieth century has been particularly difficult to write, crowded as it has been with great events full of significance to the entire race in these years of a world which has come to be conscious of its solidarity. In telling the story since 1900 the latest reviser has done his best to observe the accurate perspective that characterizes the main work.

LOUIS E. VAN NORMAN.

NEW YORK, August, 1912.

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ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE EAST

MAN'S BEGINNING ON THE EARTH

The First Man.—At what epoch of creation did man make his appearance upon the earth? Hardly more than half a century ago unlooked-for discoveries shattered all the old systems of chronology, and proved that man himself had part in the geological evolutions of our globe. Flints and bones shaped into axes, knives, needles, arrow heads, and spear heads; bones of huge animals cleft lengthwise, so that the marrow might be extracted for nourishment; heaps of shells and the débris of repasts; ashes, the evident remains of antediluvian hearths; even pictures traced on shoulder bones and slate rocks, representing animals now extinct or seen only in places very distant from those they then inhabited; finally, human remains found unquestionably in the deposits of the quaternary epoch, and traces of human industry, which seem to be detected even in the tertiary strata,—prove that man lived at a time when our continents had neither the fauna, the flora, the climate, nor the shape which they have to-day.

The most numerous discoveries have been made in France. But, on the slopes of Lebanon as in the caves of Périgord, in the valleys of the Himalayas as in those of the Pyrenees, on the banks of the Missouri as on those of the Somme, primitive man appears with the same arms, the same customs, the same savage and precarious life, which certain tribes of Africa, Australia, and the New World still preserve under our very eyes. The future king of creation was as yet only its most miserable product. Thus, science has moved back the birth of mankind toward an epoch when the measure of time is no longer furnished, as in our day, by a few

generations of men, but where we must reckon by hundreds of centuries. This is the Stone Age. It is already possible for us to divide it into many periods, each showing progress over the one preceding. We begin with stones roughly fashioned into implements and weapons, and with caverns which serve for refuge; we reach stones artistically worked and polished, pottery shaped by hand and even ornamented, and lake cities or habitations raised on piles; at last we arrive at dolmens and menhirs, those so-called druidic monuments which were formerly recognized only in France and England, but which now are found almost everywhere. Thus the first man recedes and becomes lost in a vague and appalling antiquity.

Race and Language.—Physiology and linguistic science set forth very wide differences between the various branches of the human family. Intermarriage and the influence of habitation, that is, of soil and climate, have produced many varieties of race. These are generally grouped in three principal classes, the White, the Yellow, and the Black. To them may be added a number of intermediate shades arising from amalgamations that have taken place on the borders of the three dominant classes. If all spring from a common origin, they have none the less developed in distinct regions: the White, or Caucasian, on the table-land of Iran, whence it reached India, Western Asia, and all Europe; the Yellow, or Mongolian, in China, in Northern Asia, and the Malay peninsula; the Black in Africa and Australia. This race is regarded by certain authors as descending from an earlier creation of mankind. The aborigines of America appear to have Mongolian blood.

Languages are also classed in three great groups, the monosyllabic, the agglutinative, and the inflected. The first class possesses only roots, which are at once both nouns and verbs, and which the voice expresses by a single sound, but the meaning of which varies according to position in the sentence and the relation they sustain to other words. In the second class the root does not change, but is built upon by the juxtaposition of particles that are easily recognized and answer all gram-

matical demands. In the third class the root undergoes modifications of form, sound, accent, and meaning. In this way the noun is made to express gender, number, and relation; and the verb, tense and mode. Hence the inflected languages are the most perfect medium for the expression and development of ideas.

All the languages spoken on the globe, whether in former times or to-day, represent one of these phases. The white race, being the most developed, employs the third. The Turanian idioms (Tartar, Turkish, Finnish), those of the African tribes, and of the American Indians, belong to the second. The ancient Chinese stopped at the first phase. Their descendants advance slowly toward the second, retaining for their written language some fifty thousand ideographic characters, each of which was, like the Egyptian hieroglyphics, originally the image of an object or the conventional representation of an idea.

The Black and Yellow Races.—History preserves no complete narrative of the Black Race, whose existence, passed in the depths of Africa, has resembled rivers, the sources of which are unknown and the waters of which are lost in the desert. We know little more about the American Indians or the islanders of Oceanica. Our science is limited as yet, for it is young. In our own time it has created paleontology or the history of the earth, and comparative philology or the history of languages, races, and primitive ideas. Thus it has lifted one corner of the veil that conceals the creation of nature and the beginning of civilization. Hence, of the black and red races, the ancient masters of Africa, Oceanica, and the New World, there is nothing to inscribe in the book of history save their names.

The Yellow Race, on the contrary, boasts the most ancient annals of the world, an original civilization, and empires which still exist. The Chinese and the Mongols are its best-known representatives. Attached to it are all the peoples of Indo-China and several among the most primitive populations of Hindustan. So, too, are the Tibetan, Turkish, and Tartar tribes, whose fixed or nomadic habitations extend from the west of China as

far as the Caspian Sea; also the Huns, so terrible to Europe in the fifth century of our era, and probably the same as the modern Hungarians or Magyars.

The White Race: The Aryans and Semites.—The White Race, which has accomplished almost alone the work of civilization, is divided into two principal families: the Semites, in the southwest of Asia and Northern Africa; the Aryans or Indo-Europeans, in the rest of Western Asia and Europe. They appear to have had their cradle in the lands northwest of the Indus toward ancient Bactria, in what we now know as Turkestan. Thence powerful colonies set out which planted themselves at intervals from the banks of the Ganges to the uttermost parts of the West. The kinship of the Hindus, Medes, and Persians in the East; of the Pelasgi and Hellenes in Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy; of the Celts, Germans, and Slavs north of the Black Sea, the Balkans, and the Alps, has been proved by their idioms, by grammatical analogies, and by word-roots. Thus Greek and Latin are sister tongues, closely allied to Sanskrit, the sacred language of the Indian Brahmans. Celtic, Germanic, and Slavic languages or dialects likewise show that they are vigorous offshoots of this great stock.

Before their separation these tribes had already domesticated the sheep, goat, pig, and goose, and had subdued the ox and horse to the yoke. They had begun to till the earth, to work certain metals, and to construct fixed dwellings. Marriage among them was a religious act. The family was the foundation of all public order. Associated families formed the tribe; many tribes constituted the people, whose chief was the supreme judge during peace, and led the warriors in battle. They had the vague consciousness of a First Cause, "of a God raised above other gods." But this doctrine, too exalted for people in their infancy, was obscured and concealed by the deification of natural forces.

As for the Semites, established between the Tigris, the Mediterranean, and the Red Sea, they had, as far back as we can penetrate, one single system of languages, which leads us to attribute to them a single origin. Moreover, the Bible makes the Arabs, as well

as the Jews, descend from Abraham. The Syrians and Phœnicians were of the same blood. Semitic colonies peopled Northern Africa as far as the Straits of Gibraltar. It was in the midst of this race, born in the desert where nature is simple and changeless, that in all its purity and splendor the dogma of one only God was to be preserved.

Thus two great currents of white populations were formed, which, starting from the center of Asia, flowed from east to west, over the western region of that continent, the north of Africa, and the whole of Europe.

Earliest Centers of Civilization.—These men of the ancient ages, the first-born of the world, continued for a long time savage and miserable before they constituted regular societies. When, at last, they had found localities endowed with natural fertility, where the search for means of existence did not absorb all the forces of the body and mind, their association assumed regular forms. The elementary arts were invented, the first compacts made, and the great work of civilization was begun, which man will never complete, but which he will always carry farther.

If we study the physical configuration of Asia, we shall readily understand why in that continent there were three centers of primitive civilization: China, India, and Assyria. Like waters which, held back for a time in elevated regions, flow toward lower levels and there form great streams, so men descend into the plain sheltered by mountains and rendered fertile by rivers. Such great natural basins, cradles, as it were, of flowers and fruits, prepared by the hand of God for infant races, were the valley of the Ganges, which the Himalayas surround with an impassable rampart, the plain of the Tigris and the Euphrates, which the mountains of Media, Ararat, Taurus, and Lebanon encompass, and the fertile regions of the Kiang or Blue River and of the Hoang-Ho or Yellow River, bounded on the west by the Yung-Ling and In-Chan mountains. Egypt offers another example of such civilization blossoming out upon the banks of a great stream in a fertile land.

Man's Primitive Books.—If from these general facts which history has recovered we wish to pass to more precise details, we must scrutinize the books which go far back in the centuries, and which narrate, without hesitation, the creation of heaven and earth, and of man and animals, the formation of the oldest societies, and the beginnings of the first arts. But the examination and comparison of cosmogonies, of religions, and primitive legends, make us recognize everywhere the creative power of popular imagination in the youth of the world. We see man in the state of childhood, with the rashness of ignorance, applying his curiosity to nature in its entirety. As the laws of the physical world were then hidden from him, we see him trying to understand everything by conjecture. We see him, still like the child in his effort to explain all, transforming into living persons the effects derived from the First Cause, while the Supreme Legislator remains hidden behind the multiplicity of phenomena resulting from his laws. Even in these venerable books, the exhaustive study of languages, following the order of their historical development, has enabled us to discern the interpolations of various later epochs. Therefore it has been necessary, sometimes, to separate what has been brought together, to bring together what has been separated, and to give a new meaning to expressions, images, and ideas that had been wrongly understood. All the sacred books of ancient peoples have been subjected to these sure processes of modern science. This mighty work of philological research, dating almost from our own day, has already shed upon the relation of peoples and the formation of their beliefs a light which, though vacillating on many points, the preceding centuries could not even suspect.

CHINA AND THE MONGOLS

Great Antiquity of Chinese Civilization.—To all ancient peoples their antiquity is a title of honor. Thus the Chinese inhabitants of the Celestial Empire, or, as they still call it, the Middle Kingdom, claim for themselves eighty or a hundred thousand years of existence prior to their half-authentic history. Even that goes back to the thirty-fifth century before Christ, and about ten centuries later becomes sufficiently positive to present connected annals.

We know not when or how that strange society was formed, which for at least four thousand years has retained the same character. Its practical mind was wholly occupied with the earth, which it conquered by agriculture and by industry, and but little concerned with heaven, which it left empty and deserted. On one side of the Himalayas, man, cradled with half-closed eyes on the bosom of an over-fertile nature, was intoxicated by the enervating breath of the mighty magician, and dreamed of countless benevolent or terrible divinities, who enjoined upon him contempt for life, and annihilation in Brahma. But on the other side of the mountains, a laborious, patient, active race drew from life all that it could give, and replaced the formidable systems of the Hindu gods by a merely human system of morality. The Emperor Chun, who reigned in the twenty-third century before our era, had already established for his people the five immutable rules, or the five duties of a father and his children, of a king and his subjects, of the aged and the young, of married persons, and of friends. At that time the empire was divided into provinces, departments, districts, and cities, with a great number of tributary peoples and vassal princes, who often revolted.

Imperial Dynasties and Chinese Feudalism.—Until about the year 2200, the emperors were elected. Beginning with that period heredity was established, but with

the corrective that the grandees could still select the most capable from among the sons of the dead sovereign as his successor. The Emperor Yu began the Hia dynasty, which lasted four centuries, and ended as an abominable tyranny with frightful disorders. The founder of the second or Chang dynasty was a superior man, whose virtues were celebrated by Confucius. To appease the wrath of heaven during a famine, he made a public confession of his faults; and afterwards, whenever a great calamity occurred, his successors followed his example. They and their people believed that heaven would certainly be moved by this voluntary expiation, and there was both grandeur and lofty morality in this belief.

The political wisdom of the Chinese was chiefly founded on respect for their ancestors and for the examples which these had left. Under this dynasty the feudal kingdoms increased to the number of one hundred and twenty-five, and China had a real feudal system, which favored its civilization. To this epoch must be referred the construction of an observatory, which still exists, as well as the sun-dial set up by the successor of Wou Wang. The Chinese were already acquainted with the compass and with the properties of a right-angled triangle.

The Great Wall and the Burning of the Books.—Nevertheless, Chinese feudalism ended, like that of the West, by producing a vast anarchy. The emperor was without power. One of his tributaries asserted his prerogative of offering the sacrifice to Heaven, and confined the last Tchu in a palace. A new dynasty, that of the Tsin, overthrew all the feudal lords, and restored the great empire, which took its name. Its most illustrious chief, Tsin-Chi-Hoang-Ti, accomplished this revolution (247 B.C.). He opened roads, tunneled mountains, and, in order to stop the incursions of the nomad Tartars, constructed the Great Wall, 2500 kilometers long; but he has the unenviable fame of having burned books and persecuted men of letters. That everything might date from his reign, he wished to efface the past. Fortunately he could not destroy all the books or kill all the learned

men. Chinese society was disturbed for the moment by this violent reformer, but soon returned to its traditional life. The Tsin dynasty did not last long. It was replaced by that of the Han, who ruled from 202 B.C. to 226 A.D. Under them the literati regained their influence, and China attained the apogee of her power. Her armies penetrated even to the Caspian Sea, almost within sight of the frontier of the Roman Empire; and on the shores of the Eastern Sea kings and peoples obeyed her.

Invasion of the Mongols in the Thirteenth Century.— But the two empires which shared between them the greater part of the then known world, secretly undermined by the vices fostered by too great success, tottered and fell under the repeated shocks of invasion. From the steppes, extending from the Great Wall to the Caspian Sea, hordes set out at different periods and hurled themselves, right and left, upon the two societies where civilization had accumulated the wealth which these barbarians coveted. The result, for China, was its first dismemberment in two kingdoms, separated by the Blue River; and in both many obscure dynasties followed one another. The two were reunited in 618, but the new empire did not possess sufficient strength to resist the continual incursions of the Mongols.

These nomads inhabited the same places whence, in the fourth century, had begun the invasion of the Huns which resulted in hurling barbarian Europe upon Roman Europe. They were always easily set in motion. Horses, herds, houses, all moved, or were readily carried, for the houses were only chariots or cabins placed on wheels and drawn by oxen. Such was the itinerant dwelling of the Tartar. He himself lived on horseback, remaining there, in case of need, day and night, awake or asleep. Meat packed between his saddle and the back of his horse, and milk curdled and dried, furnished his food. He feared neither fatigue nor privations, yielded to his chief a passive obedience, but was proud of his race and ambitious for his horde.

Temudjin, the chieftain of one of these Mongolian hordes, united them all under his authority, in 1203. He took the name of Genghis Khan, or chief of chiefs,

and promised this irresistible cavalry, ferocious and cunning, to lead them to the conquest of the world. He began by overwhelming the Tartars, his former masters, wrested from them northern China, which they had conquered, and, leaving to his successors the task of subjugating the provinces to the south of the Blue River and Korea, threw his armies upon Western Asia and Europe, where they marked their road across Persia, Russia, and Poland by bloody ruins. The hardy horsemen who had bathed their horses in the Eastern Ocean made them drink the waters of the Oder and the Morava at the foot of the Bohemian Mountains. Never had the sun shone upon such a wide dominion. It was necessarily brittle, yet the Russians were forced to endure it for two centuries, and were released from the Mongol yoke only by Ivan III, at the beginning of modern times.

At the death of Genghis Khan (1227) his empire was divided into four states,—China, Turkestan, Persia, and Kaptchak, or southern Russia. His grandson, Kublai, who reigned over all China, Tibet, Pegu, and Cochin China, bore the title of grand khan, to which was attached an idea of superiority, so that, from Pekin to the banks of the Dnieper, everything seemed to obey him. But this suzerainty was not exercised long. Before the end of the thirteenth century, the separation between the four kingdoms was complete.

First Europeans in China.—Kublai Khan, founder of the Yen dynasty (1279), adopted the customs of his new subjects, respected their traditions, encouraged letters and agriculture, but embraced Buddhism, a religion originating in India, and now claiming in China two hundred million adherents, or half the population. A Venetian, Marco Polo, lived seventeen years at his court, and we still possess the interesting account of his travels. A national revolution in 1368 expelled the foreigners, when the Chinese Ming dynasty replaced that of the Mongols. This family occupied the throne until 1644, or till long after the arrival of the first European colonists in China, since the Portuguese establishment at Macao dates from the year 1514.

The Mongol Empire in Central Asia and India.—During this period are determined the destiny of the Ottoman Turks, a people originally from Turkestan, and hence related to the Mongols, and the career of Timur, surnamed Lenk, or the Lame, a descendant of Genghis Khan. The Turks, on their westward march of conquest, took Constantinople in 1453. Timur, best known as Tamerlane, for the second time united the nomad Mongol hordes. Between 1370 and 1405 this terrible rival of Attila conquered Turkestan, Persia, India, and Asia Minor, defeated the Mongols of the Golden horde in the Kaptchak, though he did not destroy their kingdom, and at the famous battle of Angora vanquished the Turks, whose sultan he took prisoner. Gazing from one end of Asia to the other, Tamerlane saw no empire still standing except that of China. He was marching his innumerable hordes against it, when death at last arrested the tireless old man who lives in history as the most terrible incarnation of the malignant spirit of conquest. His empire was divided, and disappeared with the exception of a magnificent fragment, the Empire of the Great Mogul, which arose in the peninsula of the Ganges, and which fell only at the close of the last century under the blows of the English.

Later Chinese Dynasties.—In China the indigenous Ming dynasty reigned with honor, but, content with prosperity and peace, neglected the customs and institutions of war. Thus the Celestial Empire was once more invaded in 1644 by western nomads, the Manchu Tartars. The Tsin dynasty, which they founded, reigned at Pekin till the beginning of 1912, when the Chinese republic was born. Yet such was the resistant and absorbent force of this great Chinese society that, far from yielding to foreign influences, it has always conquered its conquerors. The Manchu emperors made no change in its customs, and restored its fortune by giving it the boundaries which it possesses to-day. It was these princes who in 1840 waged with the English the opium war, which ended by the opening of five ports to foreign commerce, and who carried on with the Eng-

lish and French the war of 1860, which resulted in the victory of Palikao and the capture of Pekin.

So the Yellow Race has made a great stir in the world. Through the Huns, it brought about the fall of the Roman Empire; through the Mongols of Genghis Khan, it raised, in the thirteenth century, the vastest dominion of the universe; through those of Tamerlane, it overthrew and crushed the population of twenty kingdoms; through the Turks, it held Christianity in check for centuries; through the Chinese, it has constituted a great society which, for fifty centuries and with unbroken continuity, has caused a large portion of the human race to enjoy the benefits of civilized life.

Confucius and Chinese Society.—One man contributed, if not to establish, at least to maintain, the character which the Chinese constitution still preserves. This was Kung-fu-tsze, or Confucius. For many long centuries his books, serving as a gospel in the Middle Kingdom, had to be learned by those who underwent the examinations required for obtaining literary rank and for admission to public functions. Confucius was not a legislator; he never had authority to publish laws, but he taught wisdom. "There is nothing so simple," he says, "as the moral code practiced by our wise men of old; it is summed up in the observance of the three fundamental laws which regulate the relations between the sovereign and his subjects, between father and children, and between husband and wife, and in the exercise of the five capital virtues. These are: humanity or universal charity toward all members of our own species without distinction; justice, which gives his due to each individual without partiality; conformity to prescribed rites and established usages, so that those who make up society may live alike and share the same advantages as well as the same disadvantages; uprightness, or that rectitude of mind and heart which causes one to seek the truth in everything, without deception of self or of others; sincerity and good faith, or that frankness mingled with confidence, which excludes all pretence and disguise in conduct as well as in speech."

Thanks to the strength of this sentiment, China has

been enabled to pass through the numerous revolutions which the succession of its twenty-two native or foreign dynasties has brought upon it, while no essential change has as yet been wrought in the internal system of government, under which the welfare of 400,000,000 men has been developed. Thus the Chinese have the right to say to us: "We envy you nothing; we enjoy all the useful arts; we cultivate wheat, vegetables, fruits. In addition to cotton, silk, and hemp, a great number of roots and barks furnish us with tissues and stuffs. Like you we understand mining, carpentry, joinery, the manufacture of pottery, porcelain, and paper. We excel as dyers, stone-cutters, and wheelwrights. Our roads and canals furrow the whole empire. Suspension bridges, as daring and lighter than yours, span our rivers or unite the summits of mountains." They might add, "We have a literature which goes back more than four thousand years, and a moral code as good as many another. Our sciences need no aid from those of Europe to compete with some of yours. Earlier than you we were acquainted with the mariner's compass, gunpowder, and printing, those great discoveries of which you make such boast. Now, if we have reached this point without foreign assistance, it is because, fixing our eyes on the past, we have not made over our institutions with every generation. Despite the changes of individuals on the throne of Pekin, and modifications of our frontiers, we have, through the confusion of conquests and invasions, preserved our social order and respected the state, because we respect the family."

In China intellect has forced a recognition of its rights, since office is bestowed with regard to neither birth nor fortune, but on account only of learning. Nevertheless, in China we see the vice and misery to which immense agglomerations of men or long-continued prosperity gives rise. Falsehood works its way into the institutions, which it distorts. Since, so to speak, this people has neither religion, nor philosophy, nor art, and is ignorant of an ideal, it has remained on that midway mental level whence the fall to a still lower plane is easy. Absorbed by its needs and pleasures, it has not

undergone those painful birth-throes of ideas, on account of which other nations have suffered so much, but have gained thereby an imperishable name. China has given nothing to the world; to the world she has been as though she existed not.

INDIA AND HER PEOPLES

Contrast between India and China.—China and India adjoin each other. Nevertheless, between them lies more than the bulk of the Himalayas, "the Palace of Snow," as the Hindus call it. The two races are absolutely separate by natural character and disposition. On the one side a harsh, positive spirit, without horizon, has settled and prescribed the rules of a moral code; on the other are a disordered imagination, a faith ardent but without works, a useless asceticism which kills the flesh, and unbridled passions which satiate it; in short, man lost in the bosom of nature, and aspiring only to lose himself in the bosom of divinity. On both sides, a regular, changeless machine is the idea of government. With the former, this machine is set in motion by the learned, who devote all their attention to the life of the body; with the latter, it is set in motion by the priests, who issue their commands in the name of the gods. In the former case, any one can attain anything; in the latter, no one has the right or power to leave the caste in which he was born.

Primitive Populations: the Aryans. The Vedas.—India, which consists of the two great valleys of the Indus and the Ganges, Hindustan, and of a peninsula, the Deccan, was first peopled by a black race, of which the Gonds are the last remnants; then by the Turanian tribes, such as the Tamils and Telingas, a distant branch of the Mongolian race; and lastly by men with brown and reddish skin, who appear to have been the base of population along the shores of the Indian Ocean, and

with whom Herodotus was acquainted in Gedrosia, under the name of Ethiopians. It was the Aryans, however, who gave India its place in history. These Aryans formed part of a large group of white people permanently established in the valleys of the Hindu-koosh, the Indian Caucasus, possessing the same degree of civilization with similar languages, habits, and beliefs. When long centuries had crowded into this narrow place a too numerous population, had accentuated tribal differences, and aroused political and religious quarrels, then from this table-land, in four directions and at different epochs, streams of men poured forth who inundated half of Asia, India, and the whole of Europe. The Celts, Pelasgi, and Ionians, flowed toward Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, and Gaul; the Iranians toward Media and Persia; the Germans and Slavs, from the Ural Mountains to the Rhine; as for the Aryans, they turned to the southeast and crossed the Indus. They subjected the region of the Five Rivers, or Punjab, after a prolonged struggle, the memory of which has been preserved in the Vedas, the first of their sacred books and among the most ancient monuments of our race.

Fifteen centuries, perhaps, before Christ, the Aryans of the Punjab conquered the fertile valley which the Ganges overflows with periodical inundations like the Nile, and advanced as far as its mouths, which mingle with those of the Brahmapootra, a river equally mighty, whose source is found upon the northern slope of the Palace of Snow. Checked on the east by the mountains and the mass of Mongolian nations of Indo-China, the Aryans fell to fighting among themselves. The Mahabharata, the great Indian epic, still tells in 250,000 verses the story of the terrible war between the Kurus and the Pandavas, which ended only on the appearance of the hero Krishna, the incarnation of the god Vishnu.

Delhi is the theater of the principal events in the Mahabharata, whose heroes do not quit the valley of the Ganges. This Indian Iliad presents singular affinities with the Greek Iliad, in certain parts surpasses the latter in beauty, and is, like it, the work of centuries. Together with the Vedas it throws light upon

the origin of many beliefs and symbols spread among the ancient populations of Greece, Italy, and Northern Europe. The Ramayana, another epic poem, relates to the conquest by the Aryans of the peninsula of Hindustan and of the great island of Ceylon, whither Rama, "of the divine bow," carried the Vedic religion. This time a single author, Valmik, narrates in 48,000 verses the exploits of the hero. The brilliancy and grandeur of his pictures and the touching grace of his poetry place him by the side of Virgil and Homer.

History of India.—Unfortunately, this poetic and religious race possesses no other history than that of its gods. The conquest by Darius of the countries on the right bank of the Indus gave Herodotus no information concerning the India of the Ganges. On the left bank Alexander found the two Pori and many kings and independent peoples. He wished to go to Patna, the capital of the great Prasian Empire, at the junction of the Jamna and the Ganges. A revolt among his soldiers stopped him on the banks of the Hyphasis. An Indian of humble origin, named Tchandragoupta, expelled the governors whom the Macedonian hero left in the Punjab. He overthrew the empire of the Prasians, and received the ambassadors of Seleucus Nicator. The Greek kings of Bactriana held a part of the valley of the Indus, where we still find their medals. Later on, regular commercial relations were established between Egypt and the Indian peninsula, where Roman merchants founded counting-houses. Every year they carried thither more than four million dollars in cash to purchase silks, pearls, perfumes, ivory, and spices. Thus, at the expense of the rest of the world, began that flow of precious metals to India whereby such enormous wealth has been accumulated in the hands of its princes.

Such treasures tempted the Mussulmans of Persia. Early in the eleventh century, a Turkish chieftain, Mahmoud the Gaznevid, fell upon those inoffensive populations, and we read of his iconoclastic rage, his cupidity, and his religion. The last was adopted by a large number of the Hindus. The Turks were followed by the Mongols, whose chief reigned at Delhi until the last

century under the name of Great Mogul. The discovery of the Cape of Good Hope and the arrival, in 1498, of Vasco da Gama at Calicut, placed India for the first time in direct relations with Europe. After the merchants of Lisbon came those of Amsterdam, France, and England. The English ended by seizing everything, and now reign from the Himalayas to Ceylon over more than 300,000,000 subjects.

The Castes: Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and Sudras.—Thus, nearly ten centuries ago, this intelligent and gentle race lost its independence, but it preserved its social organization, religion, and literature. The great god Brahma, say the sacred books, divided the people into four castes: the Brahmans, or priests, who sprang from his head; the Kshatriyas, or warriors, who came from his arms; the Vaisyas, or laborers and merchants, who issued from his belly and thighs; and the Sudras, or artisans, who came from his feet. The first three, or "the regenerated," who represent the Aryan conquerors, are the ruling castes. Marriage is prohibited between them and the lowest caste, which also includes the descendants of the aborigines, or the vanquished first inhabitants. The children born of forbidden unions, and all violators of religious laws, are the pariahs or impure. They cannot inhabit the cities, bathe in the Ganges, or read the Vedas. To touch them means defilement. The Brahmans alone had the right to read and expound the Holy Scriptures or the revealed book. As all science and all wisdom were contained therein, they were both priests, physicians, judges, and poets. Interpreters of the will of heaven, they reigned by virtue of religious terror. Thus they were able to surround the rajahs or kings, chosen from the warrior caste, with the thousand prescriptions of a ceremonial which the laws of Manu have preserved for us.

Not without terrible struggles did the Kshatriyas submit to this sacerdotal supremacy. Legends have preserved the memory of their resistance. The final triumph of the priests does not appear to have been complete until after the ninth century before Christ. India then received the organization, which in its principal

features it still retains, and which we find in the book of the laws of Manu. The last compilation of these laws, certainly prior to the Buddhist reform in the sixth century before Christ, carries back this religious, political, and civil code to a far distant antiquity.

Political Organizations and Religion.—The laws of Manu remind one of the Pentateuch of Moses. They undertake to set forth as by divine revelation the origin of the world; the institution of priests; certain precepts for the individual, the family, and the town; the duties of the prince and of the castes; the civil and military organization, and penal and religious laws. Everything is summed up in two rules: for society, the subordination of castes; for the individual, physical and moral purity. The Vedic gods are preserved therein, but are subordinated to Brahmi—the being absolute and eternal, impersonal and sexless, whence, nevertheless, emanates Brahma, the active principle of the universe, which in turn produces Paramatma, the soul of the world. He, uniting with Manas, or the intellectual principle, gives origin to all beings, who deviate less from Brahma, their supreme source, in proportion as they possess more wisdom.

Thus heaven and earth, with all the powers and beings therein, are the product of a series of successive emanations. In this immense chain, each being has the rank which his intellectual or moral value has assigned him. Thus, below the absolute Being appears the Indian Trimurti: Brahma, who creates the worlds; Vishnu, who regulates them; and Siva, who destroys in order to regenerate them; then the Devas or gods, symbolical representations of the forces of nature; then man; still lower, the inferior creatures, real or imaginary, such as the Nagas and the Raxasas, with changing forms. By means of learning and of the rigorous observance of religious practices, especially by austerities which subdue the flesh, and ecstasy which annihilates personality and empties the individual soul into the soul of the world, man may equal the gods, command nature, and deserve at death annihilation in the bosom of Brahma. They whose asceticism and piety have not sufficed to secure

such supernatural power and such annihilation in God are recompensed for their vulgar merits, after Yama, the god of death, has touched them, by entrance into the Svarga, and into the seven and twenty places of delight. The guilty are hurled into Naraka, which is divided into twenty-one parts, according to the diversity of tortures undergone there.

But the effect of good, as of bad works, is worn out by time. Heaven and hell cast back into life the souls which they have received. These souls reënter existence in different conditions, which are always determined, nevertheless, by the law of rise and descent in the scale of being according to their merit and demerit. This is metempsychosis, a doctrine which subjected to successive transmigrations all organized nature from the plant up to man. At the time fixed for the completion of a cycle everything was engulfed in Brahma, but speedily another creation emerged from him, and a new cycle began. The soul of the righteous alone was exempt from these painful rebirths, since his perfections had won for him the privilege of absorption into the eternal essence. This was the reward awaited by the priests who had traversed a series of previous existences in such a manner as to deserve a final rebirth in the superior caste, whence they were to pass into the bosom of Brahma.

This original conception of the transmigration of the soul, at once profound and simple, forced a vast system of expiation and reward, wherein evil and misery were explained by sin, and good fortune and power by virtue. Unfortunately this doctrine rendered legitimate a hierarchy of beings. It ratified the unalterable distinction of castes, and the contempt of the high for the low. It confirmed the constitution of a theocracy which, the better to defend its power, made purity consist, not in real virtue, but in the observance of innumerable rites, the performance of which the priest superintended and regulated.

Buddhism.—This theocracy, the most powerful which the world has ever known, was shaken in the sixth century before our era by the preaching of Gautama, surnamed Buddha, or the Wise. His father was the rajah of

a country near Nepaul. He was born in a royal palace, but at the age of twenty-nine abandoned his family, wealth, and rank to seek truth in the desert. Seven years later he returned from his wanderings. To mixed crowds, regardless of individual position or origin, he began to preach, but only by parables. He moved his hearers profoundly. This popular teaching was in itself a revolt against the Brahmans, who forbade teaching of doctrines to the Sudras. Although it was presented only as a reformation, the new doctrine went much farther. Gautama was destroying Brahmanism by substituting the equality of all men before the moral law for the principle of caste, and by substituting virtues which consist in the practice of the good, for the spurious virtues exacted by a ritual. The promises of salvation, of union with the divine essence, made to the Brahman alone, he replaced by the recognized capacity of all men by their merits to win Nirvana, or deliverance. In short, he broke up priestly heredity by calling to the priesthood the poor and the beggars who devoted themselves to a religious life.

Buddha established for men six perfections: knowledge, which must, above all, apply itself to distinguishing between the true and the false; energy, which makes us war against our chief enemies, the pleasures of sense; purity, which demonstrates victory; patience in enduring imaginary ills; charity, the bond of society; alms, the necessary consequence of charity. "I am come," he said, "to give to the ignorant wisdom, and wisdom is knowledge, virtue, alms. The perfect man is nothing unless he comforts the afflicted and succors the miserable. My doctrine is a doctrine of pity. The prosperous find it difficult, and pride themselves on their birth; but the way of salvation is open to all those who annihilate their passions as an elephant overturns a hut of reeds."

These words, this so pure moral code, were astounding novelties. "This law of grace," opposed to a law of terror, made rapid progress among the lower castes, and even among the Kshatriyas, who had to endure the haughty domination of the Brahmans. Thus, despite the

hatred of the priests against the reformer, Gautama was able to continue his apostolic work in peace until the age of eighty, without ever appealing to force, because he respected established order, and taught that men should render to princes that which was their due. When he died, his disciples collected his discourses, and convoked the first Buddhist council. Five hundred monks were present. After seven months of discussion they formulated their religious ceremonies and doctrine, which were stated with precision in a second council held in the fifth century, and in a third council about one hundred and fifty years before Christ.

The ritual is extremely simple. The temple contains the image of Gautama, who is honored and respected as the wisest of men, but who receives no adoration. There are no sacrifices or superstitious practices; at least there were none at the time when Buddhism had not yet been corrupted by the idolatrous traditions of the peoples among whom it spread and degenerated. In matter of dogma there was no separation from the ancient church. It even added to the Vedic divinities new but purer gods. It preserved the theory of rebirths, which, according to the Brahmanic doctrine, were for the mass of the faithful only periodical returns to misery and despair; but it gave to all men the means of escaping from these evils by the individual's own merit without the providential intervention of the gods.

The Hindu has at once less and more ambition than the Jew, the Mussulman, and the Christian. The latter hope to live again after death, and behold God face to face; the former consents to lose all individual existence on condition of becoming God himself.

We lay emphasis upon this moral history of India, because, in the first place, its political history is not known; and because, in the second, that country has been the main reservoir of philosophical and religious ideas, which, starting thence, have taken their course in different directions. Who would affirm that no echo of those great collisions of ideas of which India was the theater, of those philosophical and religious controversies, of that peculiar organization of Buddhist

churches which were animated by an ardent proselyting spirit, did not reach the commercial cities of the Asiatic coast, where Hellenic civilization had its awakening, and even as far as that great city of Alexandria whither the Ptolemies caused the books of the nations to be brought and translated?

Against Buddhism the most terrible persecution finally arose. "Let the Buddhists be exterminated," cried the Brahmans, "from the bridge of Rama (Ceylon) to the snow-whitened Himalayas! Whoever spares the child or the old man, shall himself be put to death." Persecution was successful in India, which returned to the Brahmans; but Buddhism spread into Tibet, which is its stronghold to-day, and into Mongolia, China, Indo-China, and Ceylon. In those countries it still numbers multitudes of believers, very few of whom, it is true, know and practice the pure doctrine of Gautama.

From this brief history it is evident that, if India has acted little, she has thought much. But the country is covered with imposing monuments of great elegance, of which we as yet are acquainted only with a small part. In thought, poetry, and art, India has developed three of the glories of Greece.

EGYPT

First Inhabitants.—Herodotus said of a part of Egypt, "It is a gift of the Nile." The same might be said of the whole country, for without the periodical inundations of that river the desert would cover everything which was not hidden under the water.

This country is certainly not the one where the first civilized society was formed. Nevertheless, its history, explicit as to a very great number of facts and persons, covers seventy centuries. Before the Persians conquered it (527 B.C.), it had already been ruled by twenty-six dynasties. The names and acts of many of its sov-

ereigns are carved on the monuments with which they covered the country. To the fourth king of the first dynasty we may attribute the step pyramid of Saccara, whose worn and crumbling stones seem to support with difficulty the weight of the centuries accumulated upon its head.

The first inhabitants of Egypt did not come from the south, descending the Nile, as was long supposed, but from the north, via the Isthmus of Suez. They belong to the race personified in Genesis under the name of Ham, and called by the Arabs "the Red" from the color of their complexion. This race appears to have formed, under the name of Cushites, the basis of the population all along the shore of the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, and the Red Sea. These Cushites founded small states, which doubtless existed for long centuries before a powerful chief, Menes, subdued the whole valley from the sea to the cataracts of Syene, and founded, at least five thousand years before our era, the first royal race. To account for this unknown period and for the revolution in which it ended, it was said that at first the gods had reigned, then the demi-gods, that is, the priests, their representatives, and that the latter had been forced to yield their power to a warrior chieftain.

First Dynasties (5000 years B.C.).—Little is known of the first three dynasties, whose sway, eight centuries in duration, reached the peninsula of Sinai, where on a rock the name of one of their princes has been found, who worked the copper mines in the peninsula. Under the fourth we behold all the marvels of a civilization then unparalleled. Art then reached such development as the most brilliant periods will hardly surpass. What space of time must have elapsed between the day when the first man was cast naked upon the earth with the instincts of a wild animal, and that day six thousand years ago, which saw the admirable statue of Chephren come forth from the hands of an Egyptian Phidias, the pyramids of Gizeh rise, and a great monarchical society formed with a strong political and religious organization? The paintings or the inscriptions of temples and tombs recall to us its industry, its commerce, its agri-

culture, and all the bloom of its vigorous youth. So early did Egypt enjoy all the art and science which it ever possessed, and subsequent centuries found themselves able to teach it little.

From the sixth to the eleventh dynasty, monuments are rare, and consequently history is silent. Great calamities must have befallen the country during this period. When the light reappears, we find royalty banished to the Thebaid, whence it emerged in triumph with the kings of the twelfth dynasty, who restored to Egypt its natural boundaries, and began the great struggle against the Ethiopians. One of the family constructed an artificial reservoir, covering sixty-three square miles, and called Lake Mœris, to regulate the overflow on the left bank of the Nile.

Invasion of the Hyksos or Shepherds (2200 B.C.).—A horde of shepherds, without doubt crowded westward by some great movement of humanity in Assyria, penetrated into the valley of the Nile by the Isthmus of Suez and subjugated the Delta and Middle Egypt. Their kings, who formed the seventeenth or Hyksos dynasty, established themselves at Memphis, and fortified the town of Avaris or Pelusium at the entrance of the Delta in order to prevent other nomads from following in their footsteps. Apparently it was one of these kings whom the Biblical Joseph served as minister. After having reigned for five hundred years, the Hyksos were at last defeated by the kings of Thebes, and gradually forced back to the very walls of Pelusium. Ahmes I succeeded in driving them thence, and the greater part of the nation quitted Egypt.

Prosperity of Egypt from the Eighteenth to the Thirteenth Century.—The expulsion of the Hyksos was followed by prosperity that lasted for more than five hundred years. Thanks to the protecting deserts and its strong political organization, Egypt again developed a brilliant civilization which the greatest men of Greece came to study. This epoch begins with the princes of the eighteenth dynasty (1703-1462): Ahmes the Liberator; Thothmes I, who commemorated his victories by columns on the banks of the Euphrates and Nile; the

regent Hatasu, whose exploits the temple of De[illegible]-el-Bahari at Thebes hands down; Thothmes III, the conqueror of Western Asia and of the Sudan, "who set the frontiers of Egypt wherever he pleased," as says the author of a heroic song carved on a pillar in the Museum of Boulaq; Amenophis III, the Memnon of the Greeks, the King of the Speaking Statue, which at sunrise saluted Aurora, his divine mother. In the tomb of the mother of Ahmes a veritable treasure of precious stones of the rarest workmanship has been found.

This good fortune continued under the princes of the nineteenth dynasty (1462-1288), several of whom rendered the name Rameses glorious. Seti I, after having carried his arms as far as Armenia, built the pillared hall of Karnak, a masterpiece of Egyptian architecture. He even opened from the Nile to the Red Sea a canal, vestiges of which can still be discerned, and on the arid road to the gold mines of Gebel Atoky he dug a well, which must be called artesian, since the water spouted from it. His successor, Rameses II, is the Sesostris to whom the Greeks have ascribed all the conquests of those ancient kings. He was indeed a warlike prince. Columns found near Beïrut, and a whole poem carved on a wall of Karnak, still attest his achievements. He was above all a great builder. He erected the two temples of Ipsamboul, the Ramesseum of Thebes, and the obelisks of Luxor, one of which, a granite monolith seventy-seven feet high, covered with inscriptions in his honor, is the central monument of the Place de la Concorde in Paris. He compelled his captives to work on these monuments. The Israelites, scattered in great numbers over Lower Egypt, were treated as slaves. They were forced to labor in the quarries, to make bricks, and construct embankments to protect the cities from inundation. The oppression of their taskmasters fired the slaves with resolution. Under Meneptah the Hebrews departed from Egypt. The tomb of this Pharaoh is still to be seen in the valley of Bab-el-Moluk.

Decline of Egypt. Invasion of the Ethiopians.—The twentieth dynasty (1288-1110) begins with a great king, Rameses III, who represented on the magnificent temple

of Medinet Abu at Thebes his exploits in Syria and the Sudan. After him came the decline. Egypt had become enfeebled in attempting to expand. Instead of remaining upon the banks of her sacred river, wherein was her strength, and in the midst of the deserts which gave her security, she sought to subdue Asia and the country of the Cushites and Libyans, and even the great island of Cyprus. She desired to control the sea. When indolent kings succeeded the glorious Pharaohs, priestly intrigue seated the high priest of Ammon upon the throne of Thebes, while another dynasty, the twenty-first, reigned at Tanis in the Delta. Thus divided, Egypt submitted to the influence of neighboring peoples instead of imposing her own. Her kings assumed Assyrian names, gave princesses of their blood to Solomon's harem, and surrounded themselves with a Libyan guard, which portioned out the country among its chiefs. The Cushites or Ethiopians took advantage of these discords to seize Upper Egypt. Sabaco, their prince, even captured King Bocchoris and burned him alive. "The vile race of Cushites," as the twenty-fifth dynasty, reigned for sixty years over all the land of the Pharaohs (715-655). Among their kings are Sebichus or Sua, whom Uzziah invoked against Shalmaneser, and Tharaka, who helped Hezekiah against Sennacherib. According to Manetho, a revolution drove the third successor of Sabaco back to Ethiopia. The leaders of this movement were natives of Sais and founded the twenty-sixth dynasty.

The Last Pharaohs.—Herodotus thus narrates the expulsion of the Ethiopians: "The last of the Ethiopian kings was terrified by a dream, and fled to his native states, leaving the government of the country to the priest Sethos. At his death the warriors seized the supreme power and intrusted it to twelve of their number. Psammeticus, one of the twelve, overthrew his colleagues by means of Carian and Ionian pirates. Realizing the military superiority of the Greeks, he invited them in great numbers to the country, and thereby angered the native army, part of which emigrated to Ethiopia. Aided by the newcomers, he tried to recover

Syria, and for twenty-eight years besieged Azoth, which he finally captured." Necho, his successor, attempted to complete Seti's canal and unite the Red Sea and Mediterranean. He caused the Phœnicians to circumnavigate Africa, and defeated Josiah, king of Judah, at Mageddo. Master of Palestine, he pushed on to the Euphrates, but was defeated by the Babylonians and lost all his conquests. The second of his successors, Apries, likewise failed in his attempts against the Cyrenians. His soldiers, believing themselves betrayed, installed in his place Amasis, one of their own number, under whom Egypt emitted a final gleam of brilliancy. Twenty thousand cities are then said to have covered the borders of the Nile. This prince gave the city of Naucratis to the Greeks, and entered into close relations with the Median, Lydian, and Babylonian kings, who were themselves menaced by a fresh invasion of the barbarous Persian mountaineers. He could not avert their ruin, and beheld the successive fall of Astyages, Crœsus, and Balthasar. The same fate awaited his own son, Psammeticus III, who, after a reign of six months, was overthrown by the Persian Cambyses (527).

Egypt under the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, and the Arabs.—Since that day Egypt has never been independent, though often rebelling against the yoke of foreigners. An unruly province of Persia, she was conquered by Alexander, who founded the famous city which bears his name (331). The dynasty of the Ptolemies reigned gloriously for a century, and ingloriously twice as long. The Romans took their place after the death of Cleopatra (30 B.C.). In 381 A.D. an edict of Theodosius suppressed the religion of the Pharaohs. The temples were mutilated, the statues of the gods destroyed, and of one of the richest civilizations of the world nothing was left except the ruins, which at the present day we piously preserve.

Egypt, thus violently forced into Christianity, remained nominally Christian for two centuries and a half without finding peace. The Arabs brought Islam (640). It took definite root, and under the Fatimite caliphs the land enjoyed a brief splendor. Cairo, a

city which they founded, still contains the largest Mussulman school in the world. Thrice has France touched the land, always leaving glorious recollections of herself: in the thirteenth century with Saint Louis; in the eighteenth with Bonaparte; in the nineteenth with Frenchmen who conquered Egypt by their science and opened to the commerce of the globe the Isthmus of Suez, thus grandly realizing the dream of a Pharaoh who had been dead thirty-five centuries!

Egyptian Religion, Government, and Art.—Two religions existed side by side, the one held by the people and the other by the priests. The former was coarse and material. It regarded certain animals, the ichneumon, ibis, crocodile, hippopotamus, cat, bull, and many more, as divine beings. It was the old African fetichism, though elevated by theogonic ideas, as is shown by those gods with the head of a dog or falcon, and by the worship of the bull Apis, "engendered by a flash of lightning." The latter religion sought to account for the mysterious phenomena of nature, and explained the good and evil encountered everywhere by the opposition of two principles as Osiris, the representative of all beneficent influences, and Typhon, the god of night and of evil days. It even seems at first to have taught belief in one God without beginning or end. The care taken by the Egyptians to preserve the bodies of the dead proves that they hoped for a future life. The inscriptions even speak of numerous rebirths, which recall the metempsychosis of the Hindus. But this idea of the absolute and eternal Being was veiled from the eyes of the people and the priests by the conception of a divine trinity—Osiris or the sun, the principle of all life, Isis or nature, and Horus, their divine child. After once abandoning pure monotheism, the Egyptians glided rapidly down the descent of polytheism. The representations on their monuments and in their religious rites of a host of secondary divinities made them forget the chief god, of whose attributes the others had at first been merely symbols.

The government was a monarchy, all the stronger because its kings, according to common belief, partook

RAMESES THE GREAT, PHARAOH OF EGYPT, AND HIS BATTLE LIONS FIGHTING THE ETHIOPIANS

From the Painting by Karl Oderich

of divinity. All were "Sons of the Sun," and in that capacity were chiefs of religion as well as of society.

Society had neither a sacerdotal nor aristocratic caste, nor a popular body which might form a counterpoise to the king. This state of affairs ended in the establishment of a certain number of classes, which were non-hereditary, but in which the son habitually remained in the father's state of life. Herodotus enumerated seven of these classes: priests, warriors, laborers, herdsmen, merchants, mariners, and, after Psammeticus, interpreters. There were, no doubt, many others. "Egypt," says Bossuet, "was the source of all good police regulation." We read in Diodorus that perjury was punished with death; that he who did not succor a man engaged in combat with an assassin, suffered the same penalty; that the slanderer was punished. Every Egyptian was obliged to deposit with a magistrate a document setting forth his means of livelihood, and a severe penalty discouraged false statements. The tongue of the spy, who betrayed state secrets to enemies, and both hands of counterfeiters, were cut off. In no case was accumulated interest allowed to exceed the capital; the property of the debtor, not his person, constituted the security for his debt. An Egyptian could borrow, giving his father's mummy as surety, and he who did not pay his debt was deprived of burial with his family.

The Egyptians successfully cultivated many industrial arts, as well as mechanics, geometry, and astronomy. They invented hieroglyphic writing, whose characters, at first simple figurative representations of objects or symbols of certain ideas, were completed by phonetic signs, which like our letters and syllables stood only for sounds. In painting they employed vivid colors, which time has not effaced. Some of their finest statues might rival those of Greece, did not a certain stiffness indicate a conventional art wherein liberty was lacking; but their architecture is unrivaled in its grand impressiveness. In proof of this we see the temples of Thebes; the hall of Karnak, where the vault is supported by 140 colossal columns, many of which are seventy feet high and eleven

feet in diameter; and the pyramids, one of which, 481 feet in height, is the most tremendous pile of stone ever heaped up by man. Further demonstration is furnished by the obelisks, the rock tombs, the labyrinth, the enormous Sphinx, which measures twenty-six feet from the chin to the crown of the head, the dikes, the highways, the canals to contain or guide the waters of the Nile, and Lake Mœris. No people in ancient times moved so much earth and granite as did the Egyptians.

THE ASSYRIANS

The Tigris and the Euphrates. Babylon and Nineveh. —From the mountains of Armenia descend two rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates, whose sources lie near each other, and which, after uniting their waters, fall into the Persian Gulf. These two rivers embrace in their course a vast tract of country, mountainous on the north and flat and sandy in the center and south, to which the general name of Mesopotamia is applied. Its first inhabitants were: in Chaldæa, or the southern part, those Cushites with whom we are already acquainted; toward the mountains, Turanian tribes, which perhaps made the great Hyksos invasion along the banks of the Nile; in the center, Semitic peoples of a white race whose origin is unknown, but who are famous in history as the Assyrians, Hebrews, Arabs, and Phœnicians.

In this country rose two splendid cities, Babylon on the Euphrates and Nineveh on the Tigris, each in turn the capital of the Assyrian Empire. Nothing in antiquity is so celebrated as Babylon, whose walls measured a circuit of twenty leagues, and rose three or four hundred feet high. The Chaldæan priests ascribed to it an antiquity of four hundred thousand years, but Genesis fixes its foundation within the historical period, where also it places the origin of the Hebrews. It ascribes the building of Babylon to Nimrod, the mighty

hunter. His descendants reigned there until the time of the great Iranian migration, which bore one body of Aryans toward the Indus, and another to the middle of Persia. Those who took the latter direction arrived at Babylon, but did not rule there long, and Assyria reverted to her first masters. The Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty held her in subjection for more than two centuries, and Arab chiefs, as their vassals, reigned on the banks of the Euphrates. When the decline of Egypt began with the twentieth dynasty, the Assyrian princes freed themselves, and became conquerors in turn. All the country between the Euphrates and the Lebanon recognized their sway. On the east of the Tigris, Media became their vassal province. If we are to believe the Chaldæan priest Berosus, they penetrated to Bactriana and India. The monuments begin to give us certain information only with the ferocious Assurnazirpal and his son, Shalmaneser, whose war against the Hebrews and whose victory over Hosea, king of Israel, are recorded in the Bible. A successor of these princes had for his queen Semiramis, who was left at his death sole mistress of the empire. She enlarged Babylon, constructed quays and hanging gardens, and surrounded the city with a wall forty-two miles long and broad enough for six chariots to pass abreast on top.

Sardanapalus was the last sovereign of the first Assyrian Empire. His excesses and effeminate life encouraged the Chaldæan Phul and the Median Arbaces to rebel. Not discouraged by four successive defeats, they succeeded finally in imprisoning the king in Nineveh. Rather than surrender, Sardanapalus caused a funeral pyre to be prepared, and flung himself into it with his wives and treasures. Nineveh was destroyed (789).

Second Assyrian Empire.—The Medes had regained their independence, and the Babylonians ruled over Assyria. His victory rendered Phul, their leader, sufficiently strong to resume the wars of the Ninevite kings against the nations west of the Euphrates, and to compel Menahem, king of Judah, to pay tribute. At his death, the Assyrians rebelled under Tiglathpileser, a descendant

of their ancient kings, who conquered Babylon and set up a second Assyrian Empire (744 B.C.). The distant expeditions of this prince from Palestine to the Indus, the victory of Sargon at Rapha over the Ethiopian Sabaco, the successes of Sennacherib, who rebuilt Nineveh (707), of Esarhaddon (681), who conquered Egypt, and of a new Sardanapalus, who subdued Asia Minor, show the might of the new empire. But it fell, like the first, before a coalition of the Babylonians and Medes. Sarac, its last king, following the example of Sardanapalus, threw himself and his treasures upon a funeral pile, and the victors, entering Nineveh, utterly destroyed the detested city (606). Wiped from the face of the earth for twenty-four centuries, no one knew even the site of its famous temples, when suddenly it reappeared in the world, with its arts, its language, its customs, its civilization, all rescued from oblivion and attested by its numerous bas-reliefs and sculptures, which the Frenchman Botta discovered in 1844 at Mosoul, and which can now be wondered at in the Louvre.

Last Assyrian Empire. Capture of Babylon by Cyrus.— Babylon replaced Nineveh. Nebuchadnezzar, its king, won a glorious victory over the Egyptian Necho at Circesium. He destroyed Jerusalem (588), took Tyre after a siege of thirteen years, traversed Egypt as a conqueror, and adorned Babylon with magnificent monuments. His four successors reigned shamefully. Cyrus, king of the Persians, besieged Babylon and entered it by the bed of the Euphrates, which he had diverted from its channel (538). Instead of destroying the city, he made it one of his capitals. So did Alexander. The construction of Seleucia caused its abandonment by the Greek kings. To-day nothing is to be seen on the spot which it occupied except a heap of ruins, upon which the Arab rarely plants his tent, and which furnish a lair for the beasts of the desert. When the Parthians, and afterwards the Persians, raised the great Oriental Empire which the Romans were unable to overthrow, Ctesiphon was their royal residence. Each new sovereign authority gave birth to a new capital. Under

the Arabian caliphs Bagdad was the queen of the Orient. It is still one of the great cities of the heir of the caliphs, the sultan of Constantinople.

Government, Religion, and Arts of Assyria.—The king of Nineveh or of Babylon was the absolute master of the life and possessions of his subjects. Such is the law of oriental monarchies. At least, on the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates, the king was not considered a deity, as on the banks of the Nile. Neither were there any castes, nor even a hierarchy of classes. Assyrian society was that sort of promiscuous mass which is not displeasing to despotism, because it permits the prince to raise or degrade whomsoever he sees fit.

At the base of the religion of these peoples, the idea of a single God can be descried; but there also this idea was concealed by a throng of secondary divinities, who are always the personification of some force of nature. In those immense plains of Chaldæa, where the horizon extends so far, under that cloudless sky, and during those nights which the Orient makes so beautiful, because the stars shine there with a brilliancy unknown to us, the dominating worship was Sabianism, or the adoration of the stars. The sun, Baal, was the great god of the Assyrians, and in the celestial bodies they located spirits which exercised upon man and upon his destiny a powerful influence. Their priests had a great reputation as astronomers. To them we owe the zodiac, the division of the circle into 360 degrees, and that of the degree into sixty minutes, the calculation of lunar eclipses, the so-called table of Pythagoras, and a system of measures, weights, and money which served nearly all the commerce of the ancient world, since it was employed by the Phœnicians and the ancient Greeks. To them also we owe astrology, whereby they developed a lucrative trade through the sale of talismans or consecrated signs, supposed to give their possessors magical powers. The common people found the objects of their adoration nearer at hand. They had fish gods, like Oannes and Derceto, or bird gods, like the doves which typified Semiramis. The worship of Mylitta, the goddess of generation and fecundity, gave rise to abomina-

ble disorders by sanctifying the grossest sensual appetites.

The Assyrians, by their industry, their skillful agriculture, and their commerce, which two magnificent rivers favored, accumulated prodigious riches in this empire, so long the rival of the empire of the Pharaohs. The carpets of Babylon, its textile fabrics, its enameled potteries, its amulets and canes, and its thousand objects of the goldsmith's art, were in great demand, even in the Roman Empire. The Assyrian sculptures reveal a degree of skill hardly suspected. Herodotus, visiting Egypt in the time of its full splendor, believed that the Greeks had derived their art and gods from the banks of the Nile. We now know that in the depths of Asia the origin of their religious ideas must be sought. Probably through Cilicia and Asia Minor Assyrian art reached the Greek Asiatic colonies, and from them awoke the genius of artists in the mother country. More than one sculpture at Athens recalls forms on the monuments of Khorsabad. The figures of Selinus, and even in a certain degree the marbles of Egina, seem to have been touched by the Ninevites.

THE PHŒNICIANS

The Origin and Growth of Phœnicia.—Between the Euphrates and the western sea stretch the desert, which belonged to the Semitic nomads, and the Lebanon, the fertile valleys of which became the habitation of numerous Canaanitish tribes who originally occupied the shores of the Persian Gulf. The Phœnicians, near kinsmen of the Hebrews, the most famous of all these tribes, established themselves in the country of the Jordan, and on the farther side of the mountain chain on the narrow strip of coast which is bathed by the Mediterranean. The conquests of Joshua gave the valley of the Jordan to the Hebrews. Hemmed in between the mountains,

whose venerable forests furnished the timber for the construction of ships, and the sea, which formed numerous harbors and invited to navigation and commerce, the Phœnicians became skillful mariners, both from necessity and natural situation. Their ships plowed the Mediterranean. Population increased with general prosperity, and cities multiplied. Soon, both for the interests of commerce and to relieve the congestion of population, it became necessary to plant colonies at a distance. The most widely known of Phœnician cities were Sidon, whose glassware and purple were celebrated; Tyre, which held the highest rank; Aradus, Byblos, and Berytus. We learn from Holy Writ what luxury and effeminacy and what an impure and often sanguinary religion reigned in Phœnicia. Mothers burned their children alive in honor of Baal-Moloch, and the utmost license was approved by their chief goddess, Astarte.

Phœnician Commerce and Colonies.—But the Phœnicians offset their vices by industry and commerce, and above all by those colonies which so contributed to the expansion and progress of civilization. They established themselves in the Ægean islands long before the Greeks; founded counting-houses in Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Sicily; and profited by the commerce of Arabia, India, and Ethiopia. In the fifth century they still possessed in Sicily the three cities of Motya, Selinus, and Panormus. In Gaul the traces of their settlement vanished early, but they covered the whole south of Spain, then so rich in silver mines, with their colonies. On the African coast rose Leptis, Adrumetum, Utica, and Carthage, the new Tyre, which became the most powerful maritime state of antiquity, and forced the neighboring Phœnician colonies to acknowledge its supremacy. While Carthage thus monopolized the commerce of the western Mediterranean, the Phœnicians of the mother country shared with the Greeks that of the eastern Mediterranean, and endeavored to form closer relations with the countries washed by the Indian Ocean. They forced the Jews to cede to them two ports on the Red Sea, Eliath and Eziongeber, whence their fleets sailed to seek ivory and gold dust in the land of Ophir, incense

and spices in Arabia Felix, the most beautiful pearls then known in the Persian Gulf, and in India a thousand precious wares. For them numerous caravans traversed Babylonia, Arabia, Persia, Bactriana, and Tibet, whence they brought back the silk of China, which sold for its weight in gold, the furs of Tartary, and the precious stones of India. They added to this commerce the products of their national industry in glass, purple, and a thousand articles of attire.

Conquerors of Phœnicia.—This prosperity of Phœnicia excited the cupidity of invaders. She was conquered by the Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty. The Assyrians many times appeared under the walls of Tyre, which was taken by Sennacherib, almost ruined by Nebuchadnezzar, and destroyed by Alexander. Phœnicia found herself almost lost in the vast empires of the Persians, the Seleucidæ, and the Romans; but, placed between two great centers of civilization, Egypt and Assyria, she took from them and carried to the West whatever they had best developed. She diffused something of the art, the industry, the science, of those two nations. Above all she took from Babylon a metric system, the necessary agent of commerce, and from Memphis the idea and form of alphabetical writing, which so many peoples have copied and modified, and which has been the indispensable instrument of intellectual progress.

THE HEBREWS

Ancient Traditions.—At the head of their race, the Hebrews place Abraham, who came from Chaldæa, perhaps two thousand years before Christ, and settled in the land of Canaan; Isaac, son of the patriarch; and Jacob, the father of twelve sons, whose posterity formed the twelve tribes of Israel. All the world knows the touching story of Joseph, one of the twelve, whom his

brethren sold to Egyptian merchants. By dint of wisdom and tact the Hebrew slave attained the highest honors, became the minister of a Pharaoh, and called to him his family, whom he established in the land of Goshen between the Nile and the Red Sea.

In this fertile district the Hebrews multiplied without mixing with the Egyptians, who eventually looked upon this foreign race with distrust, and treated them like the captives brought back by the Pharaohs from their distant conquests. They tried to compel them to abandon pastoral life and to shut themselves up in cities. They forced them to build the cities of Rameses, Pithon, and On; they made them work on the canals and on the constructions of every sort with which Egypt was being covered. The Israelite traditions assert that, in order to diminish their numbers, which increased in spite of every hardship, the Pharaohs commanded that all male infants should be killed at birth. An Israelitish woman of the tribe of Levi, after having hidden her child for three months, exposed it on the Nile in a basket of bulrushes at the spot where the daughter of Pharaoh was in the habit of bathing. The princess heard the cries of the infant and took pity on it. He was called Moses, or the " drawn out " because he had been drawn from the waters. He was reared by his adopted mother in the royal palace, and instructed in all the learning of the Egyptian priests. However, his own mother had revealed to him his origin, and one day he killed an Egyptian whom he saw beating a Hebrew. Forced to flight by this deed, he escaped to Jethro, in the extreme south of Arabia Petræa, where he found again the ancient belief of his fathers, pure and simple manners, and the patriarchal life of Abraham and Jacob. He returned to Egypt, resolved to deliver his people " from the house of bondage," and led the Hebrews with their herds back to the desert.

Moral Grandeur of Hebrew Religious and Civil Legislation.—They wandered long in the solitudes of Arabia, where the majesty of the one God everywhere is revealed. Mount Sinai was consecrated by the promulgation of the civil and religious law, and Moses tried to chain

his people to the precious dogma of the oneness of God by numerous ordinances which imparted to the Hebrew laws an incomparable superiority over every other system of legislation. Instead of the distinction of castes, which moreover cannot be enforced in the desert, the Hebrews had the equality of citizens before God, before the law, and, in a certain measure, before fortune. In the sabbatical year, and at the jubilee which occurred, the one at the end of every seven years, the other at the end of forty-nine years, the slave was emancipated, debt was outlawed, and alienated property was restored to its former owner. The leaders of the Jews sprang from the people. If their priesthood became hereditary, inasmuch as always restricted to the tribe of Levi, the priests possessed only the inheritance of poverty. In the ancient world society reposed on slavery, but the Jews had servants rather than slaves. Elsewhere the legislator disregarded the poor and repelled the stranger. Here the law distinguished in favor of the poor. It prohibited usury, enjoined alms, prescribed charity, even toward animals, and was kindly to the stranger. Thus everything which the ancient world degraded and rejected, the Mosaic law exalted. In this society, the stranger was no longer an enemy, the slave was still a man, and woman took her seat worthily beside the head of the family, enjoying the same respect. The Hebrew Decalogue, or the Ten Commandments, given to the Jews, is a summary of the entire moral code, human and divine. The Hebrew law is full of the most beautiful and touching precepts, many of which have become part of all modern human intercourse.

Conquest of Palestine. The Judges. The Kings (1097 B.C.).—Moses wished his people to return to the land which Abraham had chosen wherein to pitch his tent. Joshua, his successor, crossed the Jordan, destroyed Jericho, and divided the land of Canaan among the twelve tribes of Israel.

At his death the political bond broke which held the tribes together, and the government of the elders was too feeble to complete the conquest of the country or to repulse the attacks of neighboring kings. Hence

ensued periods of servitude, from which the Hebrews were rescued by strong and brave men, who after the victory remained their judges, thus erecting in the midst of this patriarchal republic a sort of temporary monarchy. These heroes of Israel were Othniel; Ehud, who fought with both hands; Shamgar; the prophetess Deborah; Gideon, who scattered a whole army with three hundred men; Jephthah, who immolated his daughter in order to fulfill a rash vow; Samson, celebrated for his prodigious strength; the high priest Eli, under whom the Philistines captured the Ark of the Covenant, wherein was kept the book of the law; and, lastly, Samuel, who, despite his wise and just administration, was forced by the Hebrews to give them a king.

He chose Saul, a valiant man of the tribe of Benjamin, who seemed simple-minded and docile. He poured the holy oil of consecration on the head of the new prince, and deposited in the Ark a book wherein he had written down the rights and duties of the kingly office (1097 B.C.). At first Saul justified the prophet's choice by his moderation and victories. But rendered proud by success, he abandoned his rustic habits, surrounded himself by a body-guard of three thousand men, and shook off the yoke of the high priest. Samuel secretly anointed David, a Hebrew shepherd, and introduced him into the palace, that some day he might install him in the place of the unruly prince. The young shield-bearer of the king attracted the attention of all Israel by slaying the Philistine Goliath. Saul, consumed by jealousy, made several attempts to slay him with his javelin. When he himself fell in 1058 in a battle against the Philistines, the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, and a few years later the other ten tribes, recognized David as king of Israel.

For the time being no danger threatened from Egypt and Assyria. The little Hebrew state was able to develop and extend without encountering too formidable adversaries. Palestine, which had so often been the road of the conquerors, became a conqueror in her turn. The capture of Sion or Jerusalem, the destruction of the Philistines and the Moabites, numerous successes over

all other neighboring peoples, territorial extension of the kingdom as far as the Euphrates on the north and as far as the Red Sea on the south, set forth in David the victorious prince. His regulations for worship, for the public administration, for justice, for the establishment of a numerous army, one-tenth of which was always under arms, and, lastly, the materials which he collected for the building of the temple, and the treaties of commerce concluded with Tyre, bear witness to his solicitude during peace. But a crime, the murder of Uriah, and the revolt of his son Absalom, saddened his last years. The Christian Church still sings his sublime psalms.

Solomon, a peaceful prince, fond of splendor and the arts of civilization, governed from the recesses of his palace like the other kings of the East. At his accession (1019) he consolidated his power by bloody acts, reduced the high priesthood to dependence upon the king, so as to emancipate the sovereign from all equal opposing authority, and built the magnificent temple at Jerusalem. He demonstrated his wisdom by a famous decision, founded Palmyra in the heart of the desert, created a navy, and made alliances with Tyre and Egypt. His fame spread abroad, and the Queen of Sheba came to visit this great king of the East. But, notwithstanding outward splendor, the provinces were being impoverished, and Solomon himself destroyed the foundation of his power by introducing idolatry into his palace. The Idumæans and Syrians revolted. His subjects rose in rebellion because of the growing burden of taxation, and he died in the midst of public misery (978).

The Schism and the Captivity.—His son, Rehoboam, refused to lessen the exactions of the royal treasury, and ten tribes seceded. Benjamin and Judah alone remained faithful to the house of David. From that time on there existed two nations, two kingdoms, Israel and Judah: Israel more populous, more extensive; Judah richer and more respected. Every year all Jews were bound to bring their offerings to the temple at Jerusalem. To prevent his new subjects from going to settle in the kingdom of Judah, which possessed the national

sanctuary, Jeroboam erected two altars, one at Bethel and one at Dan. Hither his people came to sacrifice. This violation of the religious law prepared Israel for the introduction of idolatry, the establishment of which was also favored by the constant relations of its kings with the Syrians. Judah showed more respect to the Mosaic law. But there also idolatry made its way, and for its expulsion prophets were needed, fired by the double inspiration of religion and patriotism. Elijah, Elisha, Amos, Micah, Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah, by turns threatened and roused the Jews from despair by the promise of a glorious future.

The separation of the Hebrew people into two kingdoms ruined its power. After the schism it possessed only Palestine. Surrounded by enemies, the Hebrews engaged also in bloody civil wars, and after deplorable anarchy succumbed under the attacks of the Babylonians. The kingdom of Israel fell in 721, when King Hosea, captured in Samaria, was carried by Sargon to Nineveh. Judah fell in 586, when Zedekiah, captured by Nebuchadnezzar, was dragged to Babylon, loaded with chains, and had his eyes put out after he had seen all his sons and the leaders of his people slain before his face.

The Jews under the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans.—The captivity, which dates from the first capture of Jerusalem (606 B.C.), lasted for seventy years, until the edict of Cyrus, who in 536 permitted the Hebrews to rebuild their Temple. Zerubbabel was accompanied by forty-two thousand Jews in his return to the ruins of the holy city. The work of construction, stopped under Cambyses through the jealousy of the Samaritans, was continued with ardor under Darius, who is, perhaps, the Ahasuerus of Scripture. In 516 the Temple was finished. Under Artaxerxes Longimanus, Esdras conducted to Jerusalem another great company of Jews, and brought the people back to the faithful observance of the Mosaic commands. About the same time Nehemiah again raised the walls of the city of David. Thus the nation had recovered its law, its Temple, its capital, and all the energy of its religious patriotism. Unfor-

tunately, many persons, whom Esdras and Nehemiah expelled for lawlessness, took refuge with the Samaritans, and built upon Mount Gerizim a temple to rival that at Jerusalem. Judæa was generally quiet under the Persians. After the siege of Tyre Alexander came to Jerusalem to offer sacrifice in the Temple, and exempted the country from taxation during the sabbatical year. After his death the Jews remained for nearly a century subject to the kings of Egypt. Ptolemy II Philadelphus even placed their sacred books in the famous library of Alexandria, having caused them to be translated by learned men, whose work has remained famous as the Septuagint Version. Ptolemy Philopator persecuted them. So they passed gladly, though with no greater security, under the rule of the kings of Syria. Seleucus IV sent his minister, Heliodorus, to strip the Temple of its riches, and Antigonus IV placed upon the very altar the statue of Jupiter Olympius.

This attempt to install Greek polytheism in the sanctuary of the only God brought about a formidable insurrection. After being delivered by the heroic family of the Maccabees, the Jews endured the most cruel vicissitudes during two centuries, sometimes free under their own kings, sometimes subject to the Romans, often disturbed by the quarrels of the Pharisees and Sadducees, the two rival political and religious sects. In the time of Augustus they formed, under the cruel Herod, a flourishing state, whose existence Rome respected for several years. Then it was that Jesus was born, and four years before the death of Tiberius began to preach his holy doctrine. The Jews, who had become Roman subjects, revolted during the last days of Nero. Thirteen hundred thousand men perished in that supreme struggle for fatherland and religion. Jerusalem was reduced to ruins, the Temple was destroyed, and the dispersion began (70 A.D.).

The Jews, a stiff-necked people, as their prophets declared, did nothing for art, science, or industry, but their moral laws were the most elevated and their religious doctrine the purest the world has seen. At the cost of cruel sufferings they preserved the priceless doc-

trine of divine unity. Their ancient law, transformed by Jesus, has become the law of charity and fraternal love which should govern mankind.

THE MEDES AND PERSIANS

Mazdeism.—We have seen that Bactriana and Sogdiana were the cradle of numerous white tribes which, under the name of Aryans, emigrated to the southeast toward the Indus, and under that of Iranians went toward Media and Persia. Perhaps a religious schism caused the separation of this great race. At all events, the Medes and Persians carried to their new country a doctrine which differed profoundly from that afterwards prevalent upon the banks of the Ganges. They recognized as their legislator Zoroaster, who seems to have lived fifteen centuries before Christ, and whose teachings are contained in the Avesta, or sacred book of the Persians.

This doctrine, which is called Mazdeism, or universal knowledge, is the purest and mildest with which polytheistic antiquity was acquainted. Zervane Akerene, the first principle, eternal, infinite, immutable, immobile, created Ormazd, the lord of knowledge or wisdom, the source of light and of life like his emblem the sun, the author of all good, all justice, and Ahriman, his enemy, the principle of physical and moral evil. Each of them commands a hierarchy of celestial and infernal spirits who labor to extend the empire of their chief: the former by disseminating light, life, purity, happiness; the latter by multiplying malevolent animals and pernicious influences. But a day will come when Ahriman, finally vanquished, will recognize his defeat, and reascend to Ormazd to enjoy with him a life of blessedness, together with all the wicked who have been enticed by him into evil and whom suffering shall have purified. Thus the goodness of Ormazd is eternal and boundless; the wicked-

ness of Ahriman is limited to the time of ordeals, which prepare for and justify redemption. The compassion of God, therefore, exceeds his justice, and the hell of the Persians was only a purgatory.

Man, created with a free and immortal soul, is the prize for which the two warring principles contend. As the devas of Ahriman ceaselessly urge him to evil, Zoroaster has given him the law of Ormazd to preserve him for the good. This law is humane and mild. It recognizes the rights of life while proclaiming those of heaven. It demands faith, but also works, as labor, alms, and moral and physical purity. It rejects barren asceticism and permits interest in earthly things, so that man, satisfying the legitimate demands of his nature without excess, has the greater merit in resisting natural temptations. "If a man eat," says the revealed book, "he will listen better to the sacred word; if he do not eat, he will have no strength for pure works." Work is a holy thing: "Plow and sow. He who soweth with purity fulfilleth the whole law. He who giveth good grain to the earth is as great as if he had offered ten thousand sacrifices." The believer must pay the same care to the earth which nourishes him and to the animals which serve him. Common affection results from community of labor. Finally, marriage is a sacred bond, and numerous children are a blessing.

Worship required prayers and an offering, consisting of animal's flesh, of the sap of certain plants, and of sacred cakes, which after the sacrifice are consumed by the priest and attendants. The sacred fire, the vase of elevation, the vestments of the celebrant, all the utensils of sacrifice, are provided for by the priests, who are the interpreters of the religious law, which they expound to the faithful. Prayer is frequent. There is a prayer for every act in life. Thereby the living are saved and the punishment of the dead diminished and their deliverance secured. Prayer must be made to Ormazd and to the celestial spirits, the izeds, who wage incessant war with the devas of Ahriman. One must "pray to the sun, the brilliant and vigorous courser which never dies," the sun which purifies the earth and

the waters, and bestows abundance. "If it did not rise, the devas would destroy everything upon the earth, and there would be no celestial izeds." One must pray by day and also by night, for at night Ahriman keeps watch, and he is all-powerful. "Rise then at midnight, wash thy hands, fetch wood and feed the fire which must always shine as symbol of the presence of Ormazd at each hearth." Prayer is sometimes a confession, but made to God and not to man. "Before thee, O Father! I confess the sins which I have committed in thought, in word, and in action. God have pity on my body and on my soul, in this world and in the next."

Unfortunately, man too often ignores his creed to obey his passions. The followers of this pure doctrine have inflicted on the world as many evils as the adherents of other religions have done. Nevertheless, they never seem to have become as brutal and depraved as the peoples who sought their gods in physical ideas of fecundity and generation, or in the phenomena of active and passive nature.

We know nothing of the children of this race who remained on the banks of the Oxus in Sogdiana and Bactriana. Thanks to the narratives of the Greeks and the cuneiform inscriptions, we are better acquainted with the Medes. Through the Persians the connection was formed between Asia and Europe which since their wars with the Greeks has not been broken.

The Medes.—Nevertheless, our details as to Media are very late. They begin only in the eighth century before our era, when Arbaces, who governed that country for the Assyrian kings, revolted successfully against Sardanapalus (789). From the long anarchy following their emancipation, the Medes were rescued by Dejoces. He proclaimed himself king (710), built Ecbatana, and reigned fifty-three years in profound peace. His son, Phraortes (657), rendered the Persians tributary, but was slain by a king of Nineveh. Cyaxares, son of Phraortes, avenged him by attacking that city, which was rescued by an invasion of the Scythians. These barbarians ravaged Western Asia for twenty-eight years. The Median king rid himself of their chiefs by causing

their throats to be cut at a banquet, overthrew Nineveh in 606, and subdued Asia Minor as far as the Halys. An eclipse of the sun, predicted by Thales, prevented a battle which he was on the point of engaging in with the Lydians (602).

Under Astyages, his successor (595), this great dominion of the Medes crumbled away. This prince had given his daughter Mandana to a Persian chieftain, Cambyses, and from this marriage Cyrus was born. A dream caused Astyages, says Herodotus, to fear that his grandson would some day dethrone him, so he ordered Harpagus to put him to death. A herdsman saved the child and brought him up in secret. Later on, Astyages acknowledged his grandson.

The Persians under Cyrus. Conquest of Western Asia.—The Persians, poor and warlike mountaineers, wished for independence. Cyrus, on reaching manhood, offered to be their chief, and led them against the Medes, whom Astyages had placed under the orders of Harpagus. The treachery of that general assured the defeat of his troops. In a second battle Astyages himself was taken prisoner, and the dominion of Asia passed from the Medes to the Persians (559). The conqueror, profiting by the ardor of his followers, overran the countries in the vicinity of the Caucasus, and attacked the Lydians, who ruled between the Halys and the Ægean Sea. Their king, Crœsus, after defeat in the plains of Thymbria, shut himself in Sardis, where he was taken alive. Babylon fell eight years later (538). The Greek colonies in Asia Minor, together with Phœnicia and Palestine, were added to the new empire. The Scythians were devastating its northern provinces. Cyrus attacked them on the banks of the Araxus, gained one victory, but perished in a second battle (529). Nevertheless, the enemy were not strong enough to invade Persia in their turn, and Cambyses was able to continue in another direction the conquests of his father.

The Persians under Cambyses and Darius.—Cambyses undertook to subdue Africa, beginning with Egypt, the last great monarchy which Cyrus had left standing. It fell in a single battle (527). The conqueror then wished

to attack Carthage, but for such an expedition a fleet was necessary, which the Phœnicians refused to furnish. An army, sent against the oasis of Ammon, perished in the desert; another, led against the Ethiopians, suffered from famine, and returned in disgrace. Cambyses revenged himself for these reverses by cruelties of which the priests of Egypt and his own family were the victims. He put both his brother and sister to death. Recalled to Asia by a revolution, he accidentally injured himself while mounting his horse, and died of the wound (522).

The rebellion which had broken out was a reaction of the Medes against the Persians. A magian, Smerdis, passed himself off as the brother of Cambyses, whom he resembled, and was the principal conspirator. Seven Persian noblemen replied to this attempt by another conspiracy, stabbed the magian, and proclaimed as king one of their own number, Darius, the son of Hystaspes. The usurpation of the magian had shaken the whole empire. A cuneiform inscription recently deciphered proves that Darius was obliged to put down successive rebellions in all the eastern provinces. Of all these insurrections we know in some detail only that of Babylon, which Herodotus has narrated.

To assure the collection of the taxes and the support of his regular troops, Darius divided into twenty satrapies the immense country comprised between the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, and the deserts of Africa, Arabia, and India. To satisfy the warlike spirit of the Persians he resumed the expedition begun by Cyrus against the Scythians, but attacked them in Europe rather than in Asia. He crossed the Bosphorus, passed over the Danube on a bridge of boats which the Asiatic or Thracian Greeks had constructed and guarded, and pushed on far in vain pursuit of the Scythians. As the time fixed for his returning to the Danube had elapsed, the Athenian, Miltiades, proposed to destroy the bridge, and thus leave the Persian army to perish. Histiæus, tyrant of Miletus, opposed this plan, representing to the chiefs, all of whom were tyrants of Greek cities, that they would be overthrown if they no longer had the support of the foreigner. Thus Darius was saved. On

his return the king left 80,000 men to complete the conquest of Thrace and to undertake the conquest of Macedon. He dispatched two other expeditions to the extremities of the empire (509). The first subdued Barca in Cyrenaïca, and the second overran other lands bathed on the west by the Indus.

The Persian Empire was then at the zenith of its greatness. From the Indus to the Mediterranean, from the Danube and Araxes to the Indian Ocean, all owned the sway of the great king, and he was about to throw a million men upon Greece. But the Greco-Persian wars will show what feebleness existed under this outward show of strength.

Government.—The government of the Medes and Persians was despotic, tempered, perhaps, in the case of the Medes, by the authority of the magi, but without other check in the Persian Empire than the exaggerated power of the satraps, whose number Darius had imprudently reduced to twenty. Moreover, the central power did not assume the responsibility of administration. Provided the provinces paid their taxes in money or kind and furnished the contingents exacted, they preserved their independence. The great Asiatic courts have always loved effeminacy and luxury. The Persians became corrupt, like their predecessors, in spite of the superiority of their religion, which taught that life should be a continual struggle against evil. They erected few monuments. But the ancients vaunted the magnificence of Ecbatana, the seven-walled city, and modern travelers have been able to admire the imposing ruins of Persepolis, which the Arabs call Tchil-Minar, or the Forty Columns.

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LABEATES
Fl.
Mt. Scurdus
Mt. Rhodope
Hebrus Fl.
Philippopolis
ILLYRIS
PELAGONIA
PAEONIA
ODRYSAE
Epidamnum
Genusus Fl.
Aous Fl.
Apollonia
CANALIA
DASSARETIS
Strymon Fl.
Mt. Pangaeus
THRACE
CRESTONIA
Heraclea Sintica
Doiriopos L.
Erigon Fl.
EMATHIA
Axius Fl.
PEDONIA
Neapolis
Edessa
ANCESTIS
Pella
MYGDONIA
Amphipolis
Abdera
Eion
Anthemonte
Thasos
THASOS
Thermia
Stagira
Strymonicus Sinus
Melas Sinus
ATINTANES
ORESTIS
CHALCIDICE
Acanthus
Methone
Olynthus
Imbros
Chimera
Aous Fl.
ELYMIOTIS
Pydna
Singiticus Sinus
Mt. Athos
Mt. Olympus
Potidaea
Thermaicus
Toronaicus Sinus
PALLENE
Cambunian Mts.
OTHRONOS
Sinus
Mende
Myrina
LEMNOS
TENEDOS
Dodona
Buthrotum
Passaron
Corcyra
CORCYRA
Tricca
Pindus Mts.
Mt. Pelion
Pherae
SCYATHOS
SCOPELOS
ENDEMIA
HALONNESSOS
LESBOS
Mytilene
PAXOS
L. Sybota
Anactorium
Thessaliotis
PHTHIOTIS
Mt. Othrys
Artemision Pr.
SCYROS
Nicopolis
Ambracius Sinus
Leucadia
Sellon
LEUCADIA
Thermopylae
Mt. Oeta

HISTORY OF THE GREEKS

PRIMITIVE TIMES

Ancient Peoples: the Pelasgi and Hellenes.—Greece is a very small country. It occupies the extremity of one of the three peninsulas which terminate Europe on the south. Its territory, inclusive of the islands, does not equal that of Portugal or of the State of Maine; but its shores are so indented that its coast line exceeds that of the whole Spanish peninsula. On the north it is attached to the prolonged mass of the eastern Alps, which form one of the walls of the Danube valley. On the south at three points it projects into the Mediterranean. The sea separates it on the west from Italy and on the east from Asia.

As far as one can pierce the obscurity of those remote ages, apparently the first inhabitants of Greece were the Pelasgi and the Ionians, members of the great Aryan race.

The Pelasgi covered with their tribes Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy, and planted in those countries the first seeds of civilization. In their monuments they have left imperishable proofs of their activity and power, but they themselves have disappeared, and no trustworthy tradition concerning them exists. At Mycenæ, Tiryns, and Argos the remains of structures, called cyclopean and attributed to them, are still seen.

By the unaided efforts of her aborigines Greece was emerging from a savage condition, when, according to traditions now abandoned, but rendered lifelike by legend and poetry, colonies arrived from the more civilized countries of Asia and Africa, who brought with them knowledge of the useful arts and a purer religion. Thus the Egyptian Cecrops, disembarking in Attica, is

said to have collected the inhabitants into twelve small towns, of which Athens became later on the capital, and to have taught them to cultivate the olive, to extract its oil, and to till the ground. To draw closer the bonds of this new society, he is said to have instituted the laws of marriage and the tribunal of the Areopagus, whose just decisions prevented serious quarrels.

What Cecrops did in Attica, Cadmus is reported to have done in Bœotia, whither he brought the Phœnician alphabet, and where he built the Cadmeum around which Thebes sprang up. At Argos Danaus introduced some of the Egyptian arts. The Phrygian Pelops settled in Elis, whence his progeny spread over almost the whole peninsula, which, as the Peloponnesus, preserves his name. Though only legends, these traditions hand down the memory of the ancient relations between Greece and the opposite coasts.

For Greece the most important event of this far-distant age was the invasion of the Hellenes. From the north of Greece, their first halting-place, they scattered all over the country, and effaced the Pelasgi by absorbing them.

Heroic Times. The Trojan War.—The Hellenes were divided into four tribes: the Ionians and Dorians, who at first remained in obscurity, and the Æolians and Achæans, who were prominent during the heroic period. History had not yet begun. Tradition was content with legends, which describe heroes traveling over Greece to deliver her from the scourge of brigands, oppressors, and ferocious beasts. They passed their lives in combating every form of evil, and received national gratitude and the title and honors of demi-gods, but were slaves to their own passions and abused their strength. Such men were Hercules and Theseus. Also popular songs celebrated the adventurous voyage of the Argonauts to Colchis in search of the Golden Fleece; the exploits of the Seven Chiefs, who besieged Thebes, defiled by the crimes of Œdipus and the quarrels of the Epigoni, his sons; the wise Minos, and many other heroes of those fabulous days, whose tragic adventures poetry and art have consecrated.

The Trojan War, which for the first time brought Greece into immediate conflict with Asia, is, if considered in its general features, a historic fact. Troy was the capital of a powerful kingdom in the northwest of Asia Minor and the last relic of the Pelasgi power. The hostility of race was increased by a deadly injury. Paris, one of the sons of King Priam, was smitten by the beauty of Helen, wife of Menelaus, king of Sparta, who had shown him hospitality. He carried her off, and thus enraged all Greece, which took the part of the outraged husband. An immense fleet, led by his brother, Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ, landed a numerous army on the shores of the Troad. No decisive engagement took place for ten years. Troy, defended by Hector, the son of Priam, seemed likely to maintain a prolonged resistance, even after her chieftain had fallen under the blows of Achilles. The Greeks, then called the Achæans, employed stratagem. Pretending to withdraw, they left behind as an offering to the gods a mammoth wooden horse which the Trojans carried inside their walls. The bravest of the Greeks were hidden in its flanks. Thus Troy fell. Hecuba, wife of Priam, and her daughters were carried into slavery. Priam was slain at the foot of the altar. Those of the Achæan princes who had not already fallen, like Patroclus, Ajax, and Achilles, set out for their own country. Some of them perished on the way. Some, like Ulysses, were long held back by contrary winds. Still others, like Agamemnon, found their thrones and marriage-beds occupied by usurpers, whose victims they became. Many others, like Diomedes and Idomeneus, were forced to seek a new home in distant regions. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* relate with incomparable charm these old legends in which the popular imagination delighted.

The Dorian Invasion (1104 B.C.). **Greek Colonies and Institutions.**—The eighty years which followed the capture of Troy were filled with domestic quarrels, which overthrew the ancient royal families and caused the power to pass to new hands. The Dorians, led by the Heraclidæ, or descendants of Hercules, invaded the

Peloponnesus, surprised defenseless Laconia, drove the Æolians from Messenia and the Achæans from Argos, took possession of Corinth and Megara, and later on marched against Athens, whither the fugitives had retreated. An oracle promised victory to that party whose king should perish first. Codrus, king of Athens, entered the hostile camp in disguise and caused himself to be slain. Thereupon the Dorians immediately withdrew. On account of the troubled times many inhabitants emigrated. On the coast of Asia Minor at Smyrna, Phocæa, Ephesus, and Miletus, of Africa at Cyrene, of Sicily at Messina and Syracuse, and of Italy at Tarentum, Naples, and Sybaris, something like a new Greece was formed, which for a long time was richer and more beautiful than the mother country. In the Asiatic colonies, at the point of contact with Eastern society, was first established that civilization of which Athens afterward became the resplendent center.

Despite its dispersion on so many shores and its division into so many states, the great Hellenic family preserved its national unity. This was brought about by community of language and religion, by the renown of certain oracles, and of Delphi in particular, whither people flocked from all parts of the Greek world, and by general institutions such as the Amphictyonic Councils and the Public Games. At the most celebrated of the Amphictyonic Councils, convened at Thermopylæ and Delphi, the deputies of a dozen peoples discussed common interests, and punished attacks upon the national religion or honor. The Olympian Games, where victory was passionately disputed, occurred every four years. They furnished the basis for chronology because, beginning with the year 776 B.C., the name of Corœbus, who won the prize of the stadium, was inscribed on the public register of the Elians, and it became customary to take the date of his victory as the starting-point in marking events.

CUSTOMS AND RELIGION OF THE GREEKS

Spirit of Liberty in Customs and Institutions.—In that mountainous land, where nature renders life a struggle, and which the free waters surround, has always breathed the spirit of independence, even in its most ancient traditions.

The kings were only military chieftains. When rendering justice, they were aided by the old men. Their revenues were voluntary gifts and a larger share of the booty and of the sacrifices. There is no trace of that servile adoration which Eastern monarchs received. There was no separate clergy and no holy book like the Bible, the Vedas, or the Avesta. Consecrated doctrines were lacking, and imagination was unrestrained. Every head of a family was the priest of his own home.

The aristocracy did not form a caste. The nobles were the strongest, the most agile, the bravest. Because they possessed those qualities, they were considered sons of the gods. Between them and the people there existed no impassable barrier, and no one lived idly on the renown of his ancestors. Each man made his own place, at first by force and later on by intelligence. What a distance from the East, with its absolute rule of deities or of kings and priests, their representatives! Here man commands! All must be movement, passion, boundless desires, audacious efforts. Prometheus has broken his chains and stolen fire from heaven in the form of life and thought!

Below the nobles, who constituted the king's council and held the line of the war-chariots in battle, was the body of freemen who, in the middle of the public square, formed the assembly around the circle of polished stones where the leaders sat with the prince. Though they took as yet no part in the deliberations, they heard all important questions discussed, and by their approving or hostile murmurs influenced the decision. Thus from most distant times Greece had the custom of public

assemblies. The necessity of convincing before commanding stimulated the mind of the people. The condition of the slave was mild. He was the family servant. When the aged herdsman Eumæus recognized his master's son, he kissed him on the brow and eyes, and the dying Alcestis offered her hand to her women as she bade them her last farewell.

The family was better constituted than among any oriental nation, the Jews alone excepted. Polygamy was prohibited. If Greek women were still bought, more than one already possessed the severe dignity of the Roman matron. They exercised care over domestic affairs. The daughters of kings drew water at the fountain like the fair Nausicaa, and Andromache fed the horses of Hector.

The Greek had no liking for tedious repasts or coarse pleasures or drunkenness. Immediately after a frugal meal he wished for games, exercise, dances, bards to chant the glory of the heroes. A stranger at his door was received without indiscreet curiosity, " for the guest is the messenger of Zeus." His wrath was terrible. On the field of battle he did not spare the fallen enemy. Still he might be appeased by gifts and entreaties, " those halting but tireless daughters of great Zeus, who follow after wrong to heal the wounds it has made, and who know how to touch the hearts of the valiant." Each warrior, feeling the need of friends, had a brother-in-arms, and self-sacrifice was the first law of those indissoluble friendships. Ten years after his return to Lacedæmon Menelaus still shut himself up in his palace to mourn for the friends whom he had lost under the walls of Troy.

Later on two unpleasant traits were naturally developed in Greek character: venality, because the Greeks were poor and the East had gold in profusion; duplicity, because they were surrounded by barbarians and must resist force by cunning.

We must furthermore remark that, though the amiable and charming qualities we have mentioned caused among this people many instances of individual greatness through courage, poetry, art, and thought, yet they

did not result in the durable greatness of the nation. Political sagacity, which knows how to conciliate conflicting interests and found great states, was not included among the gifts which this privileged race received or acquired.

Religion.—Their religion was, at first, only the naturalism brought by them from Asia which had been their cradle. At the side of the legends of the heroes and gods, we find the adoration of forests, mountains, winds, and rivers. Agamemnon invokes the latter as great divinities, and to one of them Achilles consecrated his hair. This nature worship outlived paganism. In modern Greece people may still be met who believe in spirits of the waters. Nature assumes imaginary and changing forms. When looked at through mental darkness, these speedily become, in the eyes of faith, realities which anthropomorphism seizes upon and converts into personal gods. Idealized physical forces seem to be spiritual beings, and these spiritual beings acquire a body. "God made man in his own image," says Genesis. The Greeks made their gods in the image of man. The conception is the same at bottom, and yet the difference is great, for the point of departure is, on the one hand, the infinite perfections of the Supreme Being, and on the other, the finiteness of humanity. Hence the scandals of Olympus, together with its grandeurs, and the unsavory history of those gods, who were subject to all human passions, wrath, hatred, violence, and even human woes. "Servitude," exclaims a poet, "why, Demeter endured it! The smith of Lemnos, and Poseidon, and Apollo of the silver bow, and Ares the terrible endured it also!" In the combats before Troy many are wounded. "Their blood flows," says Homer, "but a blood that resembles dew, a sort of divine vapor."

When the theodicy of later times had defined with precision the functions of the immortals, those who counted the greatest number of worshipers were the twelve great gods of Olympus. Their chief, the enfeebled representative of the ancient idea of a Supreme Cause, was Zeus, who still shook the universe with his

frown. But there were many other divinities, since Greek polytheism, by raising to divine rank the phenomena of nature, the passions of men, good things and evil, was led to multiply the gods incessantly.

These gods, not always respectable, were, nevertheless, considered the vigilant guardians of justice. The Furies, inexorable ministers of their vengeance, attached themselves to the guilty, whether living or dead. Their hair interwoven with serpents, one hand armed with a scourge of vipers and the other brandishing a torch, they filled the soul with terror and the heart with torture. This deification of remorse was all the more necessary as a moral sanction because this religion was as uncertain of the future life as was ancient Judaism. No doubt punishment awaited the criminal in the infernal regions, and the just were rewarded, but how empty the rewards! In the Elysian Fields, amid groves of fruit and flowers in a perpetual summer the souls of the blessed continued to enjoy the pleasures which they had loved on earth. Minos still sat in judgment as in his island of Crete; Nestor recounted his exploits; Tiresias uttered oracles, and Orion hunted the wild beasts which he had formerly slain on the mountains, all regretting their life the while. "Console me not for my death," said the shade of Achilles. "I would rather till the soil for some poor husbandman than reign here." Moreover this immortality is promised only to heroes. As for the masses, they can count only on the good and the ill of this present life which the gods deal out to them. There is a kinship between the members of the city as of the family. The sons will be punished or rewarded even unto the third generation for the faults and virtues of their fathers; peoples likewise for those of their kings, and kings for their peoples. Such is the blessing and the warning of Abraham; a precious belief in default of a more energetic spring of action, and one which Hesiod sets forth in magnificent verses.

The gods could be appeased by offerings and prayers. At the door of the temple stood the priest, sprinkling lustral water upon the hands and heads of the wor-

shipers. The sacrifice, always celebrated in the open air, was a sacred banquet, a sort of religious communion between the god, the priests, and the devotees. In the center of the temple rose the statue of the god, surrounded by the statues of deities or heroes whom he condescended to admit within his sanctuary. On the walls offerings and votive gifts were suspended in gratitude for some marvelous cure or unexpected deliverance. Relics of the heroes were preserved. At Olympia the shoulder of Pelops by contact healed certain maladies. At Tegæa the bones of Orestes rendered that city victorious as long as it possessed them. The statues of the gods exerted special influences; one cured colds, another the gout. The image of Hercules at Erythræ restored sight to a blind man. Often the images exuded perspiration, moved their arms and eyes, and rattled their weapons. At Andros, annually on the festival of Bacchus, water was changed into wine. The temples possessed property which did not belong to the priests, and, like churches in the Middle Ages, many enjoyed the right of asylum. Private persons or cities could be excluded from the sacrifices. Whole nations, placed under the ban of excommunication, were exterminated.

All peoples have tried to wrest from the future its secrets. All have had sorcerers or magicians or augurs, like the Greeks who interpreted celestial signs, dreamers who beheld the invisible, or rhapsodists, like the Pythia of Delphi, who felt the god move within and gave forth his oracles. By a strange misconception the philosophers accepted this superstition. "God," said Plato, "has bestowed divination upon man to supply his lack of intelligence," and the generals and politicians were obliged to reckon with it. However, let us note Hector's indignant protest against these pretended voices from on high, which many deceive. "The best of omens," said he, "is to defend one's country."

If the Hellenic gods did not greatly influence the moral development of their worshipers, they did much for art and poetry, and they did not fetter philosophic thought.

LYCURGUS AND SOLON

Sparta before Lycurgus.—We know scarcely anything concerning the history of Sparta during the two centuries which preceded the time of Lycurgus. But we do see that the Spartans, few in number in the midst of a people who had not emigrated at the time of conquest, were obliged to remain constantly under arms, like an army encamped in a hostile country. The Dorians concentrated around Sparta, and alone constituted the state, since they alone could be present at the assemblies where the laws were enacted, and alone held public office. They had two classes of subjects: in the open town the Laconians, who possessed civil rights; in the country the Helots, or serfs attached to the soil, condemned to plow and harvest for their masters. The Spartans composed the ruling race, and were all equal to one another.

However, this equality gradually became disturbed. Powerful families arose, while others lost their lands. Hence there was disorder within the city and weakness outside. One man attempted to stop this premature decline by restoring the ancient customs. This man was Lycurgus.

Lycurgus: His Political Ideas.—The widow of his brother, King Polydectes, offered him her hand and the Spartan throne if he would put his nephew Charilaus to death. He refused, but the nobles, irritated by his wise administration during the minority of the young prince, forced him into exile. He traveled for a long time, studying the laws of other nations, and returned to Lacedæmon with Homer's poems after an absence of eighteen years. With her religious authority the Pythia of Delphi supported the reforms which he proposed, and which the Spartans, weary of their dissensions, welcomed with favor. His laws maintained the relation already established between the dominant Spartans and the subject Laconians. They regulated the rights of

the two kings, Sparta being a dual monarchy; of the senate, composed of twenty-eight members of at least sixty years of age; of the general assembly, which could adopt or reject propositions presented by the senate and kings; and lastly of the Ephory, a body of magistrates appointed annually, perhaps instituted by Lycurgus, but whose great power dates from a later period. By hereditary right the two kings were the high priests of the nation, commanded the army, and were to enforce the decrees formulated by the senate and freely accepted by the popular assembly.

The Lycurgan Civil Laws.—The civil laws of Lycurgus aimed at the establishment of equality among the citizens. To effect this, he divided the land into 39,000 plots,—30,000 for the Laconians and 9,000 for the Spartans. This division was attended with great difficulties, and led to a riot, in which Lycurgus was wounded; nevertheless, it succeeded. The 9,000 lots of the Spartans comprised the greater part of Laconia, and naturally included the most fertile lands, whose value the Helots were to increase. Forbidding the alienation to strangers of any of these lots, Lycurgus erected them into a sort of permanent military fiefs. War constantly diminished the number of the Spartans, so that in the time of Aristotle they numbered only a thousand. Consequently great wealth accumulated in the hands of a few families. The Laconians, on the contrary, could ally themselves with foreigners, so their number increased; but their possessions relatively decreased, and the time came when there was only a small number of rich people and below them a multitude of poor. Hence arose revolutions which disturbed the last days of Sparta.

To maintain equality, Lycurgus prohibited luxury and the use of gold or silver money, and instituted public repasts, where the strictest frugality always reigned. At the same time, he forbade to the Spartans commerce, arts, or letters, and prescribed for all the citizens the same exercises, setting forth as the single aim of their whole life to provide and train robust defenders for the country. The same principle guided

the education of the children, who belonged far more to the state than to their parents. The child born deformed was put to death. The rest, by means of violent exercises, which were imposed also on the girls, acquired strength and suppleness, and all were inspired with sentiments of respect for old age and the law, and of contempt for pain and death.

The Messenian Wars.—Delivered from dissensions by this rigorous legislation, Sparta completed the conquest of Laconia, and began that of the Peloponnesus. She first turned her arms against the Messenians, a Doric tribe settled west of the Taygetus mountains. There were two wars; the one lasted twenty years (743-723), the other seventeen (685-668). The hero of the first was the fierce Aristodemus, who immolated his daughter in obedience to an oracle, and killed himself, that he might not witness the humiliation of his people after the capture of Ithome, which he had defended for ten years. In the second, Aristomenes performed marvels. Not only did he vanquish the Spartans, but he made his way by night into their city and hung up a trophy in one of their temples. In vain did the poet Tyrtæus stimulate the courage of the Lacedæmonians. Aristomenes, after being made prisoner, and cast alive into the deep pit called Ceadas, escaped, and recommenced his daring career. When betrayed by his ally, the king of the Arcadians, and defeated in a great battle, he retired to Mount Ida and there held out for eleven years. At last he was forced to yield, but preferred exile to servitude. Many Messenians emigrated and founded Messina in Sicily. Those who remained in Messenia shared the fate of the Helots.

This conquest was followed by wars against the cities of Tegea and Argos, but neither was completely subdued. The Spartans, in the sixth century before our era, were considered the leading people of Greece, and were in fact the most formidable.

Athens until the Time of Solon. The Archonship.—After the death of Codrus, Athens abolished the monarchy and appointed archons. Their office until 752 was for life, then for ten years, after 683 for only one

year, and finally was shared by nine magistrates. This divided authority could not check the excesses of the aristocracy or the projects of the ambitious. The stern code of Draco, which punished every offense with death, was rejected, and troubles continued.

Solon.—In 594 the task of reforming the laws and the constitution was intrusted to Solon, then famous for his poetry. He began by making the payment of debt easier, and by releasing all debtors, but he refused to allow the partition of land which the poor demanded. His aim was to abolish an oppressive aristocracy, without, however, establishing what would be called to-day a radical democracy. He divided the people into four classes, according to property. To belong to the first class, one must possess an income of 500 medimni, about eighty-five dollars; for the second class, 400; for the third, 300. Those who had a smaller income were the fourth class, or Thetes. Only members of the first three classes were eligible to public office, but all might attend the public assemblies and sit in the tribunals. The nine archons, the supreme magistrates of the state, could not discharge military duties. The senate consisted of 400 members, chosen by lot from the first three classes, and subjected to severe tests. Every proposition, made to the public assembly, must be first discussed by it. The people confirmed the laws, nominated to office, deliberated on state affairs, and filled the courts in order to try great lawsuits. The Areopagus, composed of former archons, was the supreme tribunal for capital causes. It superintended morals and magistrates, and could even annul the decisions of the people. Thus this constitution was a clever mixture of aristocracy and democracy, where the management of public affairs was reserved to the enlightened citizens. In his civil laws Solon encouraged labor, and never, like Lycurgus, sacrificed the man to the citizen, or the moral code to politics.

The Pisistratidæ. Clisthenes. Themistocles.—After promulgating his laws, the Athenian legislator departed to consult the wisdom of the ancient Eastern nations. When he returned in 565, he found that Athens had given itself a master. The parties, which he had thought

to stifle, had reappeared. From these fresh struggles had sprung the tyranny of Pisistratus, who, without abolishing the constitution, managed, as the favorite of the people and the leader of the democracy, to exercise in the city an influence which annulled that of the magistrates. His mild tyranny, however, was friendly to letters and arts. In 560, by pretending that an attempt had been made upon his life, he succeeded in having guards appointed for his protection. Twice exiled, he was twice recalled, and retained power until his death. He had honored, if not legitimized, his usurpation by a skillful and prosperous administration.

His two sons, Hipparchus and Hippias, succeeded (528), and governed together; but when Hipparchus fell, in 514, under the daggers of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, Hippias became a cruel tyrant. The powerful family of the Alcmeonidæ, who had fled from Athens, thought the occasion favorable to overthrow the last of the Pisistratidæ. They bribed the Pythia of Delphi, who induced the Spartans to support them. Aided by a Dorian army, they did in fact return to Athens, and compel Hippias to flee to the Persians (510). The city, thus delivered, fell at once into intestine quarrels. Clisthenes and Isagoras, leaders of the people and of the aristocrats, banished each other in turn. The former finally carried the day, in spite of the succor furnished his rival by the Spartans. To reward the people who had supported him, he made the constitution more democratic, and established ostracism, a custom which consisted in exiling, as dangerous to the city, any citizen whose name was inscribed on at least 6000 voting shells. Athens, the mistress of Eubœa, the Thracian Chersonese, and the island of Lemnos, which Miltiades had conquered, was already a maritime power. To increase her strength, Themistocles built 200 vessels with the income of the silver mines of Larium. This fleet was destined to save Athens and Greece.

THE PERSIAN WARS

Revolt of the Asiatic Greeks from the Persians (500).—Darius had undertaken his expedition against the Scythians, and had conquered Thrace, without the Greeks paying any heed to this formidable aggressor, who must inevitably be tempted to lay his hand upon their country also. The Asiatic Greeks, who were subject to Persia, struck a blow for liberty. Miletus, a colony of Athens, was the center of the movement. It asked of the mother city the aid which Sparta had refused to give. Athens furnished vessels and a body of troops, which contributed to the capture and burning of Sardis. A defeat, sustained in their return from this expedition, disgusted the Athenians with the war, the burden of which then fell upon the Ionians, who were crushed in a naval battle. After Miletus was taken, and all the Greek cities of Asia were again subdued, a Persian army commanded by Mardonius crossed to Europe to chastise the allies of the rebels. The Persian fleet was destroyed by a tempest near Mount Athos, and the Thracians inflicted heavy losses upon the land forces, so Mardonius returned to Asia.

First Persian War. Marathon and Miltiades (490).—A second expedition, under the command of Datis and Artaphernes, guided by the tyrant Hippias, set out by sea through the Cyclades, which it subdued, and disembarked 100,000 Persians at Marathon. There 10,000 Athenians and 1000 Platæans, under the command of Miltiades, by their heroic courage saved not only their country, but the liberty and the civilization of the world. Hippias fell upon the field of battle. The Persian fleet, after a vain attempt to surprise Athens, sailed away in shame to Asia. Miltiades, the hero of that grand day, was commissioned to subdue the Cyclades, but he failed before Paros. Being accused of treason, he was condemned to a fine, which he could not pay, and died in prison of his wounds. Then Themistocles became the

most influential man at Athens. He realized that the Persians would renew their attempt. Taking advantage of an insurrection in Egypt, which forced Darius to postpone his revenge, he devoted all the resources of Athens to increasing the fleet.

Second Persian War. Salamis (480).—Xerxes succeeded Darius. After he had reduced Egypt once more to submission, he agitated his immense empire to make a resistless invasion of Greece with a million men and more than 1200 ships. On arriving from Susa at Abydos he threw a bridge across the Dardanelles. To punish Athos, as he said, he had a canal dug, which relieved his fleet of the necessity of sailing round that dangerous promontory. Thrace, Macedon, and Thessaly were deluged with troops, and submitted. He encountered resistance only at the Pass of Thermopylæ. King Leonidas, who held it with 300 Spartans and a few Thespians, thwarted all his efforts, but a traitor showed the Persians a path by which they could outflank the heroic band. They still refused to retreat, and in the very camp of Xerxes sought a glorious death. After Thermopylæ had been forced, the Greek fleet could no longer remain off Artemisium, at the north of Eubœa, where it had anchored at first. It withdrew to Salamis, leaving Attica and central Greece defenseless. Xerxes entered Athens, which he burned. He believed the war was finished, but all Athens was on board her ships. Themistocles employed a stratagem to keep the Greeks together at a favorable point, and excited Xerxes to end all by a naval battle. From the throne erected for him on the shore the great king beheld the defeat and destruction of his fleet at the battle of Salamis. Six months after crossing the Hellespont as a conqueror, he repassed it as a fugitive.

Platæa (479).—He had, however, left Mardonius in Greece with 300,000 men. A hundred thousand Greeks collected at Platæa under the orders of Pausanias, king of Sparta. Of the barbarian host only a detachment escaped, which had retreated before the battle. On the same day the Greek fleet won a complete victory at Mycale on the Asiatic coast. Thus the European con-

tinent was purged from the barbarians, and the sea was free. Athens launched out upon it.

Continuance of the War by Athens.—To Athens belongs the chief honor in resisting the Persian invasion. Alone she had conquered at Marathon with Miltiades. At Salamis her Themistocles had again assured the victory by forcing the allies to conquer in spite of themselves. The glory of Mycale belonged almost wholly to her, and she had shared that of Platæa. Sparta could cite only the immortal but futile self-sacrifice of Leonidas at Thermopylæ. The treachery of King Pausanias, whom the ephors had sent to Thrace to expel the Persian garrisons, and who treated secretly with Xerxes, completely disgusted Lacedæmon with this war. Athens, thus left alone at the head of the allies, boldly accepted the rôle of antagonist to the great king. She herself assumed the offensive. Soon, asking vessels and money from her allies instead of soldiers, she continued the struggle in the name of Greece, but on her own account and for her own advantage. She subdued Amphipolis and a part of Thrace, whither she sent 10,000 colonists, and undertook to free the Asiatic Greeks. Cimon in one day gained two victories, one by land and one by sea, near the banks of the Eurymedon (466). Thereby he secured for Athens the empire of the seas, and, taking possession of the Thracian Chersonese, he wrested from the Persians the key to Europe.

Last Victories of the Greeks. Cimon.—Artaxerxes Longimanus ascended the throne in 465, and beheld the shame of his empire still further increased. Another rebellion in Egypt threatened the Persian monarchy with dismemberment. The Athenians hastened to aid the rebels, who held out for seven years. The banishment of Cimon, who was ostracized, and the rivalry of Sparta and Athens, which led to the first war between the two republics and their allies, gave a little respite to the Persians. But Cimon was recalled, and reconciled Athens and Sparta. Immediately he began hostilities against the common enemy. One victory near Cyprus, and another on the coast of Asia, gloriously terminated both his military career and the Persian

wars. The great king, threatened even in his own dominions, signed a humiliating treaty, which restored liberty to the Asiatic Greeks (448). His fleet was prohibited from entering the Ægean Sea, and his armies from approaching within three days' march of its coasts. Cimon died in his triumph.

THE AGE OF PERICLES

Character of the Athenian People.—During this struggle Athens had been admirably served by the great men who had succeeded each other as her generals or statesmen: Miltiades, the hero of Marathon; Themistocles, who so often mingled craft with courage; Aristides, more upright, more just, benefiting Athens by his virtues equally with his valor; and thus inspiring the allies with sufficient confidence to trust to him their vessels and treasures, a man who, after having administered the most opulent treasury in Europe, died without leaving enough property to defray his funeral expenses, and bequeathed to the state the duty of paying them and of dowering his daughter; Cimon, son of Miltiades, greater than his father, a hero whose single passion was to unite the Greek cities in fraternal bonds, and pursue the Persians to the death, and avenge the burning of Athens and of her temples. With these illustrious leaders we must associate the Athenian people, a populace often fickle, thankless, and violent, but which redeemed its faults and crimes by its enthusiasm for everything beautiful and grand, by the masterpieces which it inspired, and by the artists and poets whom it gave mankind.

Pericles.—Pericles, the son of Xanthippus, the conqueror of Mycale, deserves special mention in this roll of honor. From a fancied facial resemblance to Pisistratus, he long held himself aloof from politics. Though by birth an aristocrat, he attached himself to the popular

party. The powerful influence which he acquired by the dignity of his life and his military services he employed to restrain the evil and to develop the good impulses of the people. This little city controlled too vast an empire. To assure its continuance, he sent out numerous colonies, which did not, like those of preceding centuries, become cities independent of the mother country, but rather fortresses and garrisons whereby the country in which they were established was held in submission to Athens.

Great Intellects at Athens.—Pericles desired that Athens should be not only rich and powerful, but also glorious. He invited thither those superior men who then honored the Hellenic race. From all directions mankind flocked to the city of Minerva as an intellectual capital. The festivals were thronged, where the loftiest pleasures of the mind were associated with the most imposing spectacles of religious pomp, of perfect art, and of nature in her most charming aspect. These festivals were not, like those of the Roman populace, sanguinary games of the amphitheater with spectacles of death, blood, and corpses, but consisted of pious hymns, patriotic songs, and dramatic representations of events in the history of the gods or of the heroes.

Thus this period, often called the Age of Pericles, beheld at Athens one of the most brilliant bursts of civilization which has ever illumined the world. What a century that was, when, in a single city, there met each other Sophocles and Euripides, two of the greatest tragic poets of all ages; Lysias, the powerful orator; Herodotus, the inimitable narrator; Meton, the astronomer, and Hippocrates, the father of medicine; Aristophanes, foremost of the comic poets of antiquity; Phidias, the most illustrious of its artists; Apollodorus, Zeuxis Polygnotus, and Parrhasius, its most celebrated painters; and in conclusion, two immortal philosophers, Anaxagoras and Socrates. If we remember that this city had just lost Æschylus, and that it was soon to possess Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato, and Aristotle, we shall not be surprised that it was called "the pre-

ceptress of Greece," and that it became the teacher of the world.

The Parthenon.—We still read the works of those poets, historians, and philosophers, but of the achievements of the artists only fragments remain. Nevertheless when, seated on the tribune from which Demosthenes spoke, one contemplates the Acropolis, and beholds the exquisite grace, the incomparable beauty, and the imposing grandeur which those ruins of what once were the Parthenon, the Erechtheum, and the Propylæa still preserve, he is overwhelmed with admiration.

RIVALRY OF SPARTA, ATHENS, AND THEBES

Irritation of the Allies against Athens.—After the Persian wars were finished, Athens continued to exact tribute money from her confederates on the plea that the Greeks must be ready to repel a fresh invasion. The money thus collected she spent upon herself. The allies grew tired of always paying for those monuments and festivals, which gave such brilliancy to only one city. When their complaints were harshly repressed, they addressed mute supplications to Sparta. Jealous of the glory of Athens, Sparta labored to form a continental league which she could oppose to that of the maritime cities and islands which were subject to the Athenians. From 457 to 431 there were several hostile encounters, but the general war did not break out until the Thebans, who were allies of Sparta, attacked Platæa, which was an ally of Athens.

The Peloponnesian War to the Peace of Nicias (431-424).—The struggle at first consisted only of pillaging expeditions on both sides. The Spartans devastated Attica every spring, while every summer the Athenian fleet ravaged the coasts of the Peloponnesus. Unfortunately, in the third year, a pestilence mowed down the people packed together in Athens, and carried off Peri-

cles. Demagogues, unable to control the masses, took the place of the dead statesman. Cleon, the new popular favorite, gave free rein to the passions of the crowd. After the revolt of Mitylene in 427, the Athenian mob condemned a whole people to death, and a thousand Mitylenean prisoners were slain. From 429 to 426 the successes were balanced. The Bœotians destroyed Platæa, but Potidæa was captured by the Athenians. In 424 Brasidas took Amphipolis, thereby apparently giving the advantage to Lacedæmon, but Demosthenes seized Pylos, and thence called the helots to liberty, while 400 Spartans, who had allowed themselves to be shut up in Sphacteria while attempting to reconquer Pylos, were themselves overpowered and made prisoners. The Lacedæmonian allies, the Bœotians and Megarians, were beaten. The Athenians in turn met a check at Delium, and Cleon was slain at Potidæa. The Spartan Brasidas also fell in the same action. The partisans of peace then regained the upper hand (421), and Nicias caused the treaty to be signed which bears his name.

The Sicilian Expedition. Alcibiades (425-413).—This peace upset the calculations of the ambitious and brilliant Alcibiades, the nephew of Pericles. As he desired war that he might win distinction, he proposed and caused to be voted the disastrous expedition to Sicily, which might perhaps have succeeded, had he not been accused of sacrilege and recalled. The traitor then fled to Sparta, and from there directed fatal blows against his own country. The siege of Syracuse, weakly conducted by Nicias, ended in the destruction of the Athenian fleet and army (413). The leaders were put to death by the Syracusans, and the soldiers sold as slaves.

This disaster dealt the power of Athens a blow from which she did not recover. By the advice of Alcibiades, the Spartans fortified Decelea at the entrance to Attica, which they held as though besieged, and allied themselves with the Persians. Athens heroically braved the storm, displayed unexpected resources, and held all her allies to their duty. Fortunately for her, Alcibiades was compelled to flee from Sparta. He withdrew into Asia, and won the good-will of Tissaphernes, by showing

him the advantage to the great king in supporting a war so useful to the Persian Empire. By the promise of subsidies from Persia, Alcibiades seduced an Athenian army then at Samos, and brought about a revolution at Athens. The democracy was curbed by the establishment of a superior council, with 400 members, which replaced the senate, and by an assembly of five thousand chosen citizens, which replaced the assembly of the people (411). But the army of Alcibiades, while appointing him as its general, repudiated the new government, which fell at the end of four months. The Assembly of the Five Thousand was retained, however, and the reconciliation of the army and people was sealed by the recall of Alcibiades. Two naval battles won in the Hellespont (411), a great victory on land and sea near Cyzicus (410), and lastly the capture of Byzantium (408), consolidated the dominion of Athens over Thrace and Ionia, and Alcibiades made a triumphal return to his country (407). But the same year several disasters which he was unable to prevent aroused suspicion; he was again stripped of his power and forced into exile. He finally perished at the hands of the Persians.

The Battle of Ægos Potamos, Capture of Athens (404).—The younger Cyrus, who was already plotting the overthrow of his brother, King Artaxerxes II, then held command in Asia Minor. For the accomplishment of his projects he counted upon the assistance of the Spartans, whom he regarded as the best soldiers in Greece or in the world. So he gave them unreserved support. By the crushing victory of Ægos Potamos, Lysander wrested from Athens the empire of the sea (405). Athens was unable to resist further, and was captured the following year. Her walls were razed, her fleet reduced to twelve galleys, and the government intrusted to an oligarchy of thirty tyrants, who sanctioned abominable atrocities, and even put to death one of their colleagues, Theramenes, for having suggested moderation. After a few months a returned exile, Thrasybulos, defeated the army of the tyrants and reëstablished the former constitution (403).

Four years later Socrates was condemned to drink

hemlock. He was one of the world's most illustrious victims of superstition and intolerance.

Power of Sparta. Expedition of the Ten Thousand. Agesilaus.—The supremacy in the Greek world had passed from Athens to Lacedæmon, who used it badly. She did little for art or learning, and her chiefs displayed nothing but brutal rapacity and greed.

The younger Cyrus was pursuing his plans. With thirteen thousand Greek mercenaries, he made his way as far as the neighborhood of Babylon, and won the battle of Cunaxa, but he died in the moment of triumph (401). The Greeks, surrounded on all sides, managed, under the leadership of the Lacedæmonian Clearchus, and afterwards of the Athenian Xenophon, to make their way across four hundred leagues of country, over the pathless mountains of upper Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Pontus, to the shores of the Black Sea. This famous retreat, known as that of the Ten Thousand, revealed the weakness of the great empire. Therefore as early as the year 396 Agesilaus, king of Sparta, proposed its conquest. Conqueror of the satraps of Asia Minor, ally of the Egyptians, who had again revolted, and master of the forces of many barbarian kings, he was about to undertake the Persian expedition, sixty years before Alexander, when the Persians found means to incite a war against Sparta in the very heart of Greece itself. At their instigation, Corinth, Thebes, and Argos formed a league, which Athens and Thessaly joined. Agesilaus, thus recalled from Asia, won the battle of Coronea, which strengthened the dominion of Sparta on land; but the Athenian Conon, in command of a Phœnician fleet, deprived her of the empire of the sea, and with Persian gold rebuilt the ramparts of Athens.

Treaty of Antalcidas.—The Spartans, disturbed by the strength of their rivals, sent Antalcidas to treat with the great king. The Asiatic Greeks became his subjects, Athens retained Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, but the independence of the other Greek cities was recognized (387). In Cimon's treaty it had been Athens who imposed her conditions upon Persia. The change had

come, not because Persia was more powerful, but Greece less virtuous. Everything was for sale, and as the great king had much gold, he bought everything, orators, soldiers, fleets, cities. The outcome of a war no longer depended upon the patriotism of the citizens and the talent of the leaders, but upon an obolus more or less in the wages of the mercenaries which induced them to pass from one camp to the other.

Struggle between Sparta and Thebes. Epaminondas (381-362).—The alliance against Sparta had placed Greece at the feet of Persia. Yet Sparta seemed strong, and believed herself able to act as she pleased. One day she destroyed Mantinea without cause and overthrew Olynthus. Finally one of her generals, Phibidias, violating all justice, surprised the Cadmeum, the citadel of Thebes, which was then the ally of Lacedæmon. The Spartans retained what treachery had given them (382). The Theban Pelopidas at the head of many exiles delivered his country, and reunited in a common alliance all the cities of Bœotia. At Leuctra Epaminondas crushed the army the Spartans had sent against them (371), and ventured to carry the war into the Peloponnesus. He fought his way to the very walls of Sparta, which however he was unable to enter. To hold it in check he built on its flanks Megalopolis and Messene, which became fortresses and camps of refuge for the Arcadian and Messenian foes of Sparta (369). Against Thebes Sparta excited Athens, Persia, and Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse. Then Epaminondas invaded the Peloponnesus a second time, made an alliance with the Persian court, and created a navy of one hundred vessels which supported Rhodes, Chios, and Byzantium in revolt against Athens. Unhappily for Thebes, Epaminondas a third time invaded the Peloponnesus, and perished in the arms of victory at Mantineia (362). The power of his country fell with him.

PHILIP OF MACEDON, AND DEMOSTHENES

Philip.—Macedon, a vast region to the north of Thessaly and of the Ægean Sea, very early had kings who, surrounded by barbarous peoples and dominated by a powerful aristocracy, had played only an insignificant part in the history of the Greek world. Before Philip, the father of Alexander, Macedon was even in a desperate situation. She paid tribute to the Illyrians, and the haughty intervention of Thebes and Athens in her affairs only increased the chaos. Philip, who had been sent to Thebes as a hostage, was brought up in the house of Epaminondas, and saw how the genius of one man could elevate a nation. Therefore on attaining power (359) he was able in two years, by means of the military formation known as the phalanx which he had organized in accordance with the ideas of Epaminondas, to rid the kingdom of the barbarians and himself of two competitors.

Capture of Amphipolis. Occupation of Thessaly.—Macedon once set free, he wished to enlarge and make it the ruler of Greece. The Greek colonies, established on her coasts, cut her off from the sea and prevented her having a navy; so he captured them one after another. First he purchased the neutrality of the powerful republic of Olynthus by giving it Potidæa, which he had seized. Then he took Amphipolis, which Athens, deceived by his promises, was unable to succor. Next he completed the conquest of the country between the Nestos and the Strymon, where he found building-timber for his navy, and the gold mines of Mount Pangæus, that furnished him a revenue of a thousand talents. Afterwards he penetrated into Thrace, which he partially subdued, and attacked Byzantium, which was delivered by Athens. Checked in that quarter, he turned to another. He interfered in the affairs of Thessaly, where he overthrew the tyrants of Pheræ, and appointed himself the champion of religion against the Phocians,

who had just been condemned by the Amphictyonic Council for having tilled a sacred field. He crushed them in a great battle (352). The grateful Thessalians opened three of their towns to the avenger of the gods. He put a garrison inside and thereby held the entire province.

Demosthenes.—The Athenians alone seemed active in the interests of Greece. They were led by a great citizen, Demosthenes, who constantly employed his vigorous eloquence in unveiling the ambitious designs of the Macedonian king. But his philippics could not overcome craft supported by force. Olynthus, which Demosthenes tried to save, fell, and with it the barrier that embarrassed Macedonia the most (348). Athens, now menaced in Eubœa and even in Attica, whither Macedonian troops had come to remove the trophies of Marathon and Salamis, signed a peace which Demosthenes himself advised and which he negotiated with the king.

Second Sacred War (346). **Battle of Chæronea** (338). —While Athens confiding in this treaty gave herself up to festivals, Philip passed through Thermopylæ, overwhelmed the Phocians and made them give him the vote which they had in the Amphictyonic Council (346). This was a decisive step, for, once a member of the Hellenic body, the king could make the Amphictyonic Council speak in accordance with his interests and use it as his own instrument of oppression. Nevertheless, since he knew how to wait, he halted almost immediately in order to avoid any dangerous outbreak of despair, and turned his arms toward the Danube, which he made the boundary of his kingdom, and toward Thrace, where Phocion still prevented him from seizing the Greek colonies established on the Hellespont. While he was so far from Thermopylæ, his agents worked for him in Greece. Æschines caused the management of a new sacred war against the Locrians to be intrusted to him. For the second time religion was going to ruin this far from religious people. Philip, on arriving in central Greece, seized Elatea.

Demosthenes immediately reunited Athens and Thebes for a supreme effort. But Greek liberty was overthrown

at Chæronea (338). The victor did himself honor by his moderation, and in order to justify the supreme authority which he had just grasped, he had himself appointed by the Amphictyonic Council general-in-chief of the Greeks against the Persians.

Macedon was now a powerful state extending from Thermopylæ to the Danube, and from the Adriatic to the Black Sea. Its government had nothing to fear from internal troubles or pretenders to the throne. The aristocracy, the cause of previous disorders, had been won over by the glory of the monarch, by honors and offices, or were restrained by the hostages which they had been compelled to give that the royal guard might be composed entirely of young nobles. But death arrested Philip at the age of forty-seven, in the midst of his plans. He was assassinated by a noble, Pausanias, probably instigated by the Persians (336).

ALEXANDER

(336-323)

Submission of Greece to Alexander (336-334).—Great disturbances broke out at the news that Philip had left as his heir Alexander, a young man of twenty. However, Alexander rapidly subdued Thrace and Illyricum, vanquished the barbarians on both banks of the Danube, and, learning that the Macedonian garrison had been massacred at Thebes, arrived in Bœotia thirteen days after leaving the Danube. "Demosthenes called me a child," he said, "when I was in Illyricum, and a youth when I arrived in Thessaly. Under the walls of Athens I will show him that I am a man." He took Thebes, slew six thousand of its inhabitants, and sold thirty thousand into slavery. The terrified Greeks conferred upon him the title, already bestowed upon his father, of general-in-chief for the Persian War.

Expedition against Persia (334). **Conquest of the Asiatic Coast and Egypt.**—He crossed the Hellespont with 30,000 foot and 4500 horse, defeated at the Granicus 110,000 Persians, then marched along the coast so as to shut Greece from the agents of Darius, and thus deprive them of the means of exciting disorders there. Darius tried to arrest him at Issus in Cilicia. Alexander vanquished him (333). Disdaining to pursue he continued the plan which he had marked out in the occupation of the maritime cities. Without anxiety he devoted seven months to the siege of Tyre, and spent another year in Egypt, where he sacrificed to the native gods so as to win over the inhabitants. He founded Alexandria, and induced the priests of Ammon to bestow upon him the title of Son of the Gods, which the ancient Pharaohs had borne (332).

Conquest of Persia. Death of Darius. Murder of Clitus (334-327).—After conquering the maritime provinces of the empire, Alexander traversed Palestine and Syria, crossed the Euphrates, where the Persians did not oppose his passage, and the Tigris, which they defended no better, and at last attacked and completely defeated Darius on the plain of Arbela (331). Certain that no army of the Persian king could resist his Macedonians, he allowed that prince to again flee toward his eastern provinces. He descended to Babylon, where he sacrificed to Bel, whose temple (overthrown by Xerxes) he restored, and hurried to occupy the other capitals of Darius: Susa, which contained immense riches; Pasargadæ, the sanctuary of the empire; and Persepolis, which he burned, thereby announcing to the whole East that a new conqueror had seated himself upon the throne of Cyrus. With headlong speed he subdued, or caused his generals to subdue, the neighboring mountaineers. He entered Ecbatana a week after the king had left it, continued the pursuit, and was on the point of again attacking him, when three satraps, whose prisoner the unfortunate prince had become, cut the throat of Darius and left only a corpse for the conqueror. Bessus, one of the assassins, tried to make Bactriana a center of resistance. Alexander gave him no time. He rapidly

traversed Aria and Bactriana as far as the Oxus. Bessus, who had retreated beyond that river, was delivered into his hands, and a council of Medes and Persians surrendered him to the brother of Darius, who caused him to undergo a thousand tortures.

Alexander wintered in those regions. On the shores of the Iaxartes he founded a new Alexandria, which he peopled with Greek mercenaries, invalid soldiers, and barbarians. The capture of the Sogdian Rock, the marriage of Alexander with Roxana, the daughter of a Persian nobleman, and the foundation of many cities completed the subjugation of Sogdiana, where the conqueror left great but also terrible memories. He tortured Philotas and his father, Parmenio, because of a conspiracy which they had not revealed, murdered Clitus during an orgy, and put to death the philosopher Callisthenes for a plot to which he was a stranger.

Beyond the Indus. Return to Babylon and Death (327-323).—The Persian Empire no longer existed. It was now the Macedonian Empire. Alexander did not find it large enough, and wished to add India thereto. Upon the banks of the Cophen he met an Indian king, Taxiles, who entreated his aid against Porus, another Indian monarch. His soldiers felled a whole forest to construct a fleet upon the Indus, and Porus was conquered and captured. "How do you wish to be treated?" Alexander asked his prisoner. "Like a king," replied Porus. The captive was allowed to retain his states, which were also enlarged, and was assigned the duty of maintaining the country in submission. Alexander wished to penetrate into the valley of the Ganges, but his army refused to go farther and he was obliged to halt. After marking the extreme limit of his triumphant course by twelve altars around which he celebrated games, he returned to the Indus, which he descended to the ocean, subjugating the people along the banks, founding cities, dockyards, and ports, and carefullly exploring the mouths of the river. He returned to Babylon through the deserts of Gedrosia and Carmania, through which no army had ever marched. Meanwhile his admiral, Nearchus, coasted with the fleet along the shore and

returned by the Persian Gulf that he might indicate to commerce the road to India.

Notwithstanding the many recruits which Macedon and Greece had sent him, Alexander could not have founded so many cities and maintained his subjects in obedience, if he had not pursued a wise policy toward the conquered. He sacrificed to their gods, respected their customs, left the civil government in the hands of the natives, and endeavored to unite victors and vanquished by marriages, of which he himself set the example by wedding Barsina, or Statira, the daughter of Darius. The military forces alone remained in the hands of his Macedonians. He counted that the beneficent influence of commerce would create between East and West, between Persia and Greece, common interests and weld those many diverse peoples into one formidable empire. Death overtook him at Babylon (323) and put an end to his mighty plans. No one after him had sufficient strength or authority to take them up. When about to draw his last breath, he had given his ring to Perdiccas. His other lieutenants asked him to whom he left his crown. "To the most worthy, but I fear I shall have a bloody funeral." He was only thirty-two years of age and had reigned twelve.

The Age of Alexander.—Great men again in the age of Philip and Alexander added to the glorious patrimony which their ancestors had bequeathed. Praxiteles, the most graceful of Greek sculptors, and the painter Pamphilus, the master of Apelles, followed Phidias, Polycletus, and Zeuxis. Nevertheless art languished. Taste became less pure and style less severe. Too much was yielded to form. Art spoke to the eye rather than to the mind. Eloquence and philosophy, however, showed no decline. The tribune of Athens resounded with the impassioned and virile accents of Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Hyperides, and Hegesippus. Æschines, the rival of Demosthenes, contributed the movement and splendor of his periods, and Phocion his virtue, the most powerful weapon of oratory.

After the death of Socrates his disciples dispersed. Plato, the most illustrious of them all, had returned to

Athens and taught in the gardens of Academus. The Greeks, charmed by the matchless grace of his speech, reported that his father was Apollo and that the bees of Hymettus had deposited their honey upon his lips in the cradle. Aristotle, his pupil and rival, the teacher of Alexander, has fastened upon himself the eternal attention of mankind by other merits. His vast and mighty genius desired to understand all, the laws of the human mind as well as the laws of nature. Philosophy still pursues the double path which those preëminent intellects marked out, idealistic with the one, rational and positive with the other. Xenophon, though a gentle spirit and amiable narrator, ranks far below them.

GREECE BECOMES A ROMAN PROVINCE

(323-146)

Dismemberment of Alexander's Empire.—Three months after Alexander's death, his wife Roxana gave birth to Alexander Aigos. The conqueror left a natural son named Hercules; a half-brother, the imbecile Arrhideus, and two sisters, Cleopatra and Thessalonica. His imperious mother, Olympias, was still alive. After long debates Arrhideus and Alexander Aigos were both proclaimed. Antipater was placed over the European forces, Craterus was made a sort of guardian to Arrhideus, and Perdiccas became a general prime minister. Continual convulsions during twenty-four years resulted from this divided authority, and cost the lives of all the members of the royal family and of a majority of the generals. The empire was rent asunder along the lines of its ancient nationalities. Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, and Macedon were reconstructed after the decisive battle of Ipsus, where Antigonus made a last effort to restore unity (301).

Kingdoms of Syria (201-64) **and Egypt** (301-30).—Seleucus Nicator, one of the victors of Ipsus, founded the dynasty of the Seleucidæ, to whom he gave for

capitals Seleucia and Antioch and for empire all the countries comprised between the Indus and the Ægean Sea. His son could not prevent the Gauls from settling in Galatia. Antiochus II, despite his surname of the God, saw two kingdoms rise in his eastern provinces, that of the Bactrians, which did not last, and that of the Parthians, which renewed the Persian monarchy. Antiochus III the Great (224-187) ventured to attack the Romans, who vanquished him at Thermopylæ (191) and Magnesia (190), wrested from him Asia on this side of the Taurus, and reduced Syria itself to a Roman province (64).

Egypt saw better days under the first of the Lagidæ, all of whom bore the name of Ptolemy. It was then a powerful state, the center of the world's commerce, the asylum of letters and science, with a magnificent library at Alexandria. But the clever kings were speedily succeeded by debauched, cruel, incapable sovereigns, and after them by foreign intervention.

Thus Ptolemy Soter (301) added to his kingdom Cyrenaïca, Cyprus, Cœle-Syria, and Phœnicia. Philadelphus (285) developed the navy and maintained two successful wars, one against his brother Magas, governor of Cyrene, and the other against the king of Syria, who was unable to conquer Egypt. Euergetes (247) penetrated in Asia as far as Bactriana and in Africa to the interior of Ethiopia, while his lieutenants subjugated the coasts of Arabia Felix to secure the trade-route to India. Philopator (222) began the decline, which Epiphanes (205) hastened by placing himself under the tutelage of the Romans, who thenceforth constantly intermeddled in Egyptian affairs till the days of Cæsar and Cleopatra. The latter was a dangerous siren, to whom Antony sacrificed his honor, his fortune, and his life. Octavius resisted her, and the queen, threatened with adorning a Roman triumph, died from the poison of an asp. Egypt became a Roman province (30), as the kingdom of Pergamos in Asia Minor had done (129) by virtue of the testament of its last king.

Kingdom of Macedon (301-146). **Cynocephalæ and Pydna.**—Macedon did not exist so long, but fell with greater honor, for her last two kings dared withstand

Rome, who had become through her triumph over Carthage, the greatest military power in the world. The descendants of Antigonus, who was vanquished at Ipsus, had secured for themselves the throne of Macedon, and like Philip and Alexander tried to obtain the supreme power over Greece. During the second Punic War, the Romans, by the conquest of Illyricum, gained a footing on the Greek peninsula. Philip of Macedon tried to drive them into the sea, and made with Hannibal (215) a treaty which was to assure him the possession of Greece; but a defeat on the banks of the Aoüs forced him to beat a rapid retreat to his kingdom. The Roman senate, taking advantage of the enmities which his ambition had aroused, announced itself the protector of the nations threatened by him. He had the rashness to provoke Rome, now rid of Hannibal. The reply was prompt and terrible. The legions crushed at Cynocephalæ the phalanx, which had conquered Greece and Asia (197). His son Perseus was no more fortunate at Pydna (168). In 146 Macedon was effaced from the list of nations and the kingdom of Alexander was henceforth nothing but a Roman province.

Death of Demosthenes (322). **The Achæan League** (251-146).—While the successors of Alexander were disputing the fragments of his purple robe in Asia, Greece made an effort to recover her liberty. Demosthenes, who had remained the soul of the national party, and Athens, who hoped to be able to break once more the dominion of the stranger, stirred up the Lanian war. It began well but ended in disaster. Demosthenes was banished and took poison (322). On the base of the statue which, later on, his fellow-countrymen erected to his memory, these words were inscribed: "If thy power had equaled thy eloquence, Greece would not to-day be captive." Phocion perished five years later by the order of the Macedonians. However, the Greek cities profiting by the disorders in Macedon regained their liberty; but the foreign rule when it withdrew left behind, like an impure deposit, tyrants in every town. Supported by mercenaries, these men terrorized over the citizens and extorted from their cowardice the gold

which served to rivet their bonds. One man, Aratus, undertook to overthrow these detestable rulers. First he reconstituted the ancient federation of the twelve Achæan cities. Then he delivered Sicyon (251), Corinth, Megara, Trezene, Argos, Mantineia, Epidaurus, and Megalopolis from their tyrants, and made alliance with the Ætolian league in order to raise a barrier against the ambition of Macedon. To extend his patriotic work to central Greece, he aided in the deliverance of Athens and Orchomenus. A few efforts more and the Achæan league would have embraced the whole of Hellas.

Unfortunately, Sparta revived with a spasm of reform. Cleomenes made all property common, reëstablished the public meals, and reconstituted with foreigners a new Spartan people which immediately contended with the Achæans, and disputed their preponderance in the Peloponnesus. Aratus was constrained to implore assistance from the Macedonians, who defeated Cleomenes at Sellasia (221). This defeat crushed new Sparta, but placed the Achæans in dependence upon Macedon, who made everything bend before her. The Romans becoming disquieted at this reviving strength prepared to intervene so as to destroy it. The violent deeds of Philip and the murder of Aratus gave them numerous allies, and the Ætolians helped win the battle of Cynocephalæ. Victorious Rome took nothing for herself, but divided everything in order to weaken all. She destroyed the leagues in Thessaly and central Greece by declaring that every city should be free. The Greeks applauded, not without perceiving that this liberty would lead them to servitude. Philopœmen of Megalopolis the worthy successor of Aratus, at the head of the Achæan league tried to delay the moment of inevitable ruin. Lacedæmon, which had fallen into the hands of the tyrants, was a hotbed of intrigue. Philopœmen slew with his own hand in battle the tyrant Machanidas, and forced his successor Nabis to raise the siege of Messene. Entering Sparta as a victor, he united it to the Achæan league. It was not the policy of Rome that the whole Peloponnesus should form a single state.

Her envoys urged Messene to revolt. Philopœmen in an expedition against her fell from his horse, was captured and condemned to drink the hemlock (183).

During the war against Perseus, the Achæans secretly but fervently desired his success, and for this Rome called them to account after the victory of Pydna. A thousand of their best citizens were deported to Italy (168). Released seventeen years afterwards, they brought back to their country an imprudent hatred of Rome. When the senate announced that Corinth, Sparta, and Argos must cease to form part of the league, the Achæans flew to arms and fought the last battle for liberty (146) at Leucopetra, near Corinth. Corinth was burned by Mummius, Greece reduced to a province, and this people, who had held so great a place in the world, were lost in the ocean of the Roman power.

SUMMARY OF GREEK HISTORY

Services Rendered by the Greeks to General Civilization.—Epicharmes, the creator of Greek comedy, said twenty-four centuries ago: "All blessings are bought from the gods by labor." What the poet said, Greece proved. By dint of an activity, of which no other people had until then ever furnished an example, did the Greeks succeed in taking so high a rank among the nations. They covered the coasts of the Mediterannean with flourishing cities. They raised a poor and petty country to mastery of the world by arms and commerce, but, above all, by civilization.

Among the sciences by establishing the methods or processes they also created mathematics, geometry, mechanics, and astronomy, which Egypt and Chaldæa had only outlined. They laid the foundations of botany and medicine.

In the sciences indeed we have advanced much farther than they by following the path of patient investigation

and pure reasoning which Hippocrates, Archimedes, and Aristotle opened up, but in letters, arts, and philosophy the Greeks have remained the eternal masters. The Romans and the moderns have been only their pupils.

They carried to perfection the epic poem with Homer; the elegy with Simonides; the ode with Pindar; tragedy with Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, who succeeded in making it grandly religious, patriotic, and moral; comedy with Aristophanes and Menander; history with Herodotus and Thucydides; forensic and legal eloquence with Demosthenes, Æschines, Isocrates, and Lysias.

In the arts the world still follows their impulse and imitates their models. While varying their three orders, we copy their architecture. Their mutilated statues are the pride of our museums. Our decorative arts draw inspiration from the graceful designs of their vases or from the ornaments of their temples and tombs. The moderns have created only one new art, music, and developed one ancient art, painting.

In philosophy, as they had no holy books and consequently no body of fixed doctrines, no sacerdotal class jealously guarding for itself both dogma and learning, no social aristocracy limiting the field of thought, they allowed the utmost freedom to the mind. Thus they created moral and political philosophy in entire independence. They made it the domain of all and assigned as its only aim the quest of truth. Thereby they threw open to the human intellect an immense horizon. That which feeling only vaguely attained, reason proceeded to grasp, and with unequaled power. What have twenty centuries added to the philosophical discoveries of the Hellenes?

In short, such was the fruitfulness of their prolific nature, that on the very ruins of Greek society sprang forth that elevated moral doctrine of stoicism which, combined with and modified by the Christian spirit, is still capable of developing great characters.

The East, earlier than the Hellenes, gave birth to sages, but the people below them were only herds, docile to the voice of the master. In Greece, humanity became

conscious of itself. There man assumed full possession of the faculties planted in him by the Creator, and of the sentiment of his own personal dignity. Slavery, preserved in the cities by the politicians and justified in books by the philosophers, was a relic of that past from which the emancipation of the freest nations is always slow.

Defects of the Political and Religious Spirit among the Greeks.—Still, this picture has its shadows. Admirable political theorists, with Aristotle at their head, they were able to organize nothing but cities. The idea of a great state was unwelcome to them. Never, except partially and for a brief space during the Persian wars, or too late at the time of the Achæan league, did they consent to join their forces and destinies in fraternal union. Thus they lost their independence on that day when the half-barbaric, half-Hellenic, wholly military Macedonian monarchy was formed at their gates. To Rome their subjugation was still more easy.

The Greek religion, so favorable to art and poetry, was less so to virtue. By representing the gods, personifications of natural forces, as enslaved by the most shameful passions, committing theft, incest, and adultery, breathing hatred and revenge, it obscured the idea of uprightness, and rendered evil legitimate by the example of those who should have been the incarnation of good. Then when human reason contradicted the divine legends, Greek polytheism at last found itself in that fatal condition wherein religion and the moral code are opposed to each other. The latter attacked the former and won the battle. The gods fell from Olympus. Grass grew in the courtyards of the temples. This would have been a gain, if the dethroned deities had been replaced by such a virile system of instruction as would enlighten and purify human reason. That virile instruction was found here and there on the lips of the poets and philosophers, but the masses did not listen. Delivered to the groveling superstitions in which among the weak the great beliefs end, Greek religion was without defense when assailed by the Asiatic corruption introduced by the conquests of Alexander.

Gold depraved alike men and institutions. The mercenaries of the Seleucidæ and of the Ptolemies, men without a country inasmuch as without liberty, lost together with their manly virtues the generous self-devotion which had made them so great at Marathon and Thermopylæ, and the self-respect and reverence for the true and the beautiful which had formed so many good citizens and created so many masterpieces. Greece from time to time did still produce some superior men, but only as a long-time fertile but exhausted soil yields at intervals a scanty fruit.

HISTORY OF THE ROMANS

ROME. THE ANCIENT ROMAN CONSTITUTION (753-366)

The Royal Period (753-510).—The fertile plains of Latium and Etruria meet under the Sabine mountains on the banks of the Tiber, the largest stream of the Italian peninsula. At some distance from its junction with the Anio, this river flows between nine hills, two of which, Janiculus and Vaticanus, dominate the right bank, while the other seven distinguish the left. It was there that Rome arose.

Legend, which explains every beginning and delights in the marvelous, recognizes seven kings of Rome: Romulus, the son of Mars, nursed by a she-wolf, the founder upon the Palatine of the present city; Numa, the religious king, whom the nymph Egeria inspired; Tullus Hostilius, who overthrew Alba Longa after the combat between the Horatii and Curiatii; Ancus Martius, the founder of Ostia; Tarquinius Priscus, who perhaps owed his crown to an Etruscan conquest of Rome; Servius Tullius, the legislator; and lastly Tarquinius Superbus, the abominable tyrant whom the Romans expelled.

History, more sedate, has many doubts concerning this royal period of which the only glimpse is afforded by charming tales. Nevertheless it credits the foundation upon the Palatine of Roma Quadrata, a city whose walls have recently been discovered. This city exercised its robust youth against its Latin, Sabine, and Etruscan neighbors, and grew so rapidly that Servius was obliged to erect those extensive walls which sufficed during the whole period of the republic. It had customs, institutions, and a political organization such as would require much time to develop. We must admit that under her

last king Rome was already the capital of Latium, the strongest power in Italy. Her inhabitants constituted two peoples, as it were, the patricians and the plebeians. The patricians consisted of families, each of which formed a clan with its own gods, its common property, and its chief. The latter was at once high priest of the domestic altar, judge without appeal over his wife and children, patron whom his clients obeyed, absolute master of his slaves, and in the forum and at the curia a member of the sovereign people who elected the prince, enacted the laws and decided questions of peace and war. The plebeians were a confused mass of conquered captives, transported to the city, of foreigners settled there, and perhaps of natives dispossessed by the original conquest. They had nothing in common with the patricians, neither gods nor marriage nor political rights. Nevertheless to Servius is attributed the division: of the city into four quarters or urban tribes; of the territory into twenty-six cantons or rural tribes; of the people, patricians and plebeians, into five classes according to wealth, and into 193 hundreds or centuries. The first class alone had ninety-eight centuries. After the kings were expelled, as each century represented one vote, it had ninety-eight votes, while all the other classes combined had only ninety-five.

The Republic. Consuls. Tribunes (510-493).—The patricians overthrew Tarquin and replaced the king by two consuls, chosen annually by them from among themselves. This was therefore an aristocratic revolution. Brutus, one of the consuls, discovered that his sons were implicated in a conspiracy to recall the king. He ordered that they should be put to death and stoically witnessed their execution. Tarquin sought revenge by rousing all the neighboring peoples against Rome. The bloody victory of Lake Regillus saved the city, but her strength was undermined by debts incurred by the losses and expenses of the recent wars. The Roman law favored the creditors, who abused their rights, and the poor in resentment would not allow themselves to be enrolled. Then the senate created the dictatorship, an absolute magistracy from which there was no appeal.

Its power, more arbitrary than that of the kings had ever been, was to last six months. The people were terrified and yielded, but the violence of the creditors increased. At last the poor abandoned the city and retired to Mons Sacer. They came back only after tribunes had been promised them, who should be annually elected from the plebeians and by their veto could reverse the decisions of the consuls and senate. At first the tribunes employed their power as a shield wherewith to defend the people. Later on they used it to attack the nobles and make themselves masters of the republic.

The Decemvirate and the Twelve Tables.—The years which elapsed between the establishment of the tribuneship and that of the decemvirate were filled by petty wars and internal troubles. The tribune Terentillus Arsa in 461 demanded that a code, written and known to the citizens, should be drawn up. For a long time the patricians resisted. At last the proposition was passed, and decemvirs were elected with unlimited powers to draw up the new laws. One of them, Appius Claudius, tried to usurp the authority. He fell in consequence of an outrage, which forced a father to kill his daughter to save her from dishonor (449).

In the legislation of the Twelve Tables, published by the decemvirs (448), attacks upon property were cruelly punished. The thief might be killed with impunity at night and even during the day if he defended himself. "Whoever sets fire to a lot of grain shall be bound, beaten with rods, and burned." "The insolvent debtor shall be sold or cut in pieces." For offenses regarded as less grave, we find two systems of penalties in use among all barbarous peoples, the talion or corporal reprisals, and settlement by agreement. "Whoever breaks a limb shall pay three hundred Roman pounds to the injured person. If he does not settle with him, let him be subjected to the lex talionis."

However, some provisions favored the plebeians. The rate of interest was diminished and guaranties for individual liberty were provided. "Let the false witness and the corrupt judge be hurled from the rock," said

the law. "The people shall always have the right of appeal from the sentence of the magistrates. The people alone in their assemblies by centuries shall have the power to pronounce sentence of death." Thus criminal jurisdiction was bestowed upon the people. Thus the power passed to the comitia centuriata, where according to their property patricians and plebeians were mingled without distinction.

The general character of the law was another advantage for the plebeians. "No more personal laws." The civil legislation of the Twelve Tables recognized only Roman citizens. Its provisions were not made for one order or one class. Its formula was always "If anyone," inasmuch as patrician and plebeian, senator and priest and laborer, were equal in its eyes. Thus, by ignoring differences formerly so profound, was proclaimed the definite union of the two peoples. It was a new people, all the citizens in a body, which now held sovereign authority and was the source of all power and all right. "Whatever the people shall ordain shall constitute the final law." Thus the people had attained through the Twelve Tables several material benefits, which may be summed up as civil equality. Not yet eligible to many offices, their political equality was still in the future.

The Plebeians attain Admission to All Offices (448-286). —The revolution of 510, instituted by the patricians, had benefited only the aristocracy. That of 448, instituted by the people, benefited only the people. The new consuls, Horatius and Valerius, forbade under pain of death that any magistracy without appeal should ever be created, gave the force of law to the plebiscites or votes passed in the assembly of the tribes, and repeated the anathema pronounced against anyone who should attack the inviolability of the tribuneship. Nevertheless the prohibition of intermarriage and the occupation of all offices by the patricians still maintained an insulting distinction between the two orders. In 445 the tribune Canuleius demanded the abolition of the prohibition regarding marriage, and his colleagues demanded that plebeians should be eligible to the consul-

ship. This was equivalent to demanding political equality. The patricians were indignant, but the people withdrew to the Janiculine Hill. The senate, thinking that custom would be stronger than law, accepted the proposition concerning intermarriage. Instead of granting the consulship to the plebeians, they diminished its functions. Two new magistrates, called censors, were appointed in 444, at first for five years and later for eighteen months. These officers were to take the census, administer the public domains and finances, regulate the classes, draw up the list of the senate and of the equestrian order, and have control of the city police. The other consular duties—military and judicial administration, presidency of the assemblies and of the senate, and protection of the city and laws—were divided and intrusted to three, four, and sometimes six generals under the name of military tribunes.

The constitution of 444 made plebeians eligible to the military tribuneship, yet until the year 400 no plebeian attained it. Meanwhile Rome was carrying on a five years' siege of Veii, which the patrician Camillus finally captured. The Gallic invasion interrupted the political strife, that burst forth more fiercely after the danger was past. The tribunes, Licinius Stolo and Sextius, in 376, renewed the demand for division of the consulship, and proposed an agrarian law limiting to 500 acres the amount of land which a citizen could own. The crisis of the struggle had arrived. The same two tribunes were reëlected for ten successive years. In vain did the senate persuade their colleagues to interpose their veto. Twice did they have recourse to the dictatorship. The dictator, Camillus, abdicated when threatened with a fine of 500 pounds. Against the tribunes the patricians invoked the sanctity of religion, for not a single plebeian was a priest. At last the patricians agreed that "instead of two custodians of the Sibylline books, ten shall be appointed, five of whom shall be plebeians." The year 366 beheld for the first time a plebeian consul. Then the patricians created the prætorship, an office exercising the judicial functions of the consuls. To this the plebeians became eligible in 337. The dictatorship

was opened to them in 355, the censorship in 350, the proconsulship in 326, and the augurship in 302. Two additional laws assured political equality and founded that union at home and that strength abroad which enabled Rome to triumph over every obstacle. The one imposed the plebiscite equally on the two orders, and declared that both consuls might be plebeians. The other summarized and confirmed all the rights the plebeians had acquired.

THE CONQUEST OF ITALY

(343-265)

Capture of Rome by the Gauls (390).—The capture of Veii, a great Etruscan city, made Rome preponderant in central Italy. The Gauls, established for two centuries in the valley of the Po, threatened to destroy the growing state at its center. They besieged Clusium, which had refused them lands, and marched upon Rome. They defeated her armies on the banks of the Allia, and made their way to the foot of the Capitol, where the senate and the young men had shut themselves up. They maintained a close siege, until an invasion of the Veneti called them back to their own country, whereupon they consented to accept a ransom. As Camillus, on being appointed dictator, had destroyed some of their detachments, Roman vanity represented these petty successes as a complete victory.

It took Rome nearly half a century to recover. Meanwhile Camillus, Manlius Torquatus, and Valerius Corvus defeated several rebellious Latin tribes and their Gallic allies, and captured some of the Etruscan cities. They subjugated southern Etruria and most of Latium, and approached the Samnite borders. Then burst out the Samnite war, or the war of Italian independence. All the nations of the peninsula entered the lists in turn, always committing the fatal mistake of not at-

tacking together. This war lasted seventy-eight years, desolated all central Italy, and placed the entire peninsula under the heel of Rome.

The Samnite Wars.—The wealthy city of Capua, being threatened by the Samnites, submitted to the Romans, who defeated her adversaries, but the hostile attitude of the Latins prevented them from following up their successes. The Latins demanded full political equality with the Romans. On the senate's refusal a difficult war began. Because of his respect for discipline, Manlius Torquatus condemned to death his own son who had fought without orders, and Decius sacrificed himself to save the legions. Varying conditions, imposed on the Latin cities after the victory, assured their obedience.

In 327 the Samnites, to expel the Romans from Campania, incited the city of Palæpolis to revolt. Defeated by Papirius Cursor and Fabius Maximus, who commanded the Romans, the Samnites took their revenge at the Caudine Forks, where they surrounded the whole army, forced it to pass under the yoke, and to sign a humiliating treaty of peace. The senate repudiated the treaty and surrendered the consuls to the Samnites, who were unwilling to receive them. Finally Publilius Philo penetrated victoriously into Samnium, while Papirius subdued Apulia on the farther side of the Samnite mountains. The senate endeavored to confine its formidable foes in the Apennines by a line of fortresses or military colonies.

The northern peoples of the peninsula now came to the aid of the Samnites. Fifty or sixty thousand Etruscans fell upon the Roman colony of Sutrium, but were defeated by Fabius near Perusia. He systematically devastated Samnium till its exhausted tribes begged for an end of a war which had already lasted more than a generation. They retained their territory and the externals of independence, but agreed to recognize "the majesty of the Roman people." Circumstances were soon to show what the senate meant by this term.

The Samnites with the Sabines, Etruscans, Umbrians, and Gauls rose in general revolt. At Rome the tribunals were closed. All able-bodied citizens were enrolled, and

an army was raised, at least 90,000 strong. The massacre of a whole legion near Camerinum opened to the Senones the passage of the Apennines. Should they effect their junction with the Umbrians and Etruscans, the consular army was doomed. By a diversion Fabius recalled the Etruscans to the defense of their homes, and then hastened to encounter the Gauls in the plains of Sentinum. The shock was terrible. Seven thousand Romans had already perished on the left wing which was commanded by Decius, when the consul sacrificed himself, imitating the example of his father. The barbarians retreated in disorder and returned to their country. The destruction of a Samnite legion and the defeat of Pontius Herennius, the victor of the Caudine Forks, finally wrung from this obstinate nation the confession of its defeat. A treaty, whose clauses are unknown, ranged them among the allies of Rome. To hold them in check Venusia was occupied by a powerful colony.

The center of Italy thus submitted to the Roman supremacy or the Roman alliance. In the north the Etruscans were still hostile and the Gauls had forgotten their defeat at Sentinum. In the south Samnite bands wandered among the mountains of Calabria. The Lucanians were uneasy, and the Greeks with apprehension beheld the approach of the Roman rule. Tarentum especially manifested dissatisfaction. Still the union of so many peoples was impossible. The only real moment of serious danger was when the Etruscans once destroyed a Roman army. The senate replied by the utter extermination of the Senones. The Boii, another Gallic tribe, when endeavoring to avenge their brethren, were themselves crushed together with the Etruscans near Lake Vadimo (283). Northern like Central Italy then acknowledged the Roman sway.

Pyrrhus.—Tarentum alone held out in arms but realized her weakness too late. She summoned to her assistance Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. On arriving in that wealthy and luxurious city, Pyrrhus closed the baths and theaters and compelled the citizens to arm themselves. At the first battle near Heraclea the elephants, with which the Romans were unacquainted, threw their

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ranks into disorder. They left 15,000 men on the field, but Pyrrhus had lost 13,000. "Another such victory," he exclaimed, "and I shall return to Epirus without an army." He sent his minister Cineas to Rome to propose peace. "Let Pyrrhus first leave Italy," replied the aged Appius, "and then we will see about treating with him." Cineas was ordered to quit Rome that very day. "The senate," he said on his return, "seemed to me an assembly of kings."

Pyrrhus tried to surprise the city, but all its citizens were soldiers. He could only gaze at the walls from a distance. A second battle near Asculum, where a third Decius sacrificed himself, proved that he was only wearing out his forces in vain against this determined people. He crossed to Sicily to fight the Carthaginians who were besieging Syracuse. Though he raised the siege and drove the Africans back to Lilybæum, he soon wearied of this expedition and returned to Italy. A defeat at Beneventum drove the royal adventurer back to Greece. Undertaking to conquer Macedon, he was proclaimed its king but perished miserably at the siege of Argos. Tarentum, thus abandoned, opened its gates (272). Græcia Magna, like northern and central Italy, was subdued.

The Gauls.—The Cisalpine Gauls still inspired a legitimate fear. Receiving the news that they had called for an army of their transalpine compatriots, the senate declared "emergency" and put on foot 700,000 soldiers, 500,000 of whom were furnished by the Italians. The victory of Telamon averted all danger and Marcellus slew their king with his own hand. Roman colonies, sent to the banks of the Po, overawed Cisalpine Gaul. The barbarians then implored the help of Hannibal, but, satisfied to be delivered by his victories, did not themselves rise en masse to help him crush Rome. After the battle of Zama the senate again took measures against them. All the Boii emigrated, going in search of other habitations on the banks of the Danube, and thus delivered their rich country and the barriers of the Alps to the Romans.

THE PUNIC WARS

(264-146)

First Punic War (264-241). **Conquest of Sicily.**—Carthage, a colony of Tyre, had extended her sway from Numidia to the frontiers of Cyrenaïca, organized an immense caravan traffic in the interior of Africa, and seized the control of the western Mediterranean. While Rome was contending with the Etruscans and the Italian Greeks, the Carthaginians had applauded her successes and had signed friendly treaties. The absolute victory of Rome filled them with consternation. With alarm they beheld a single power ruling over the beautiful country which was bathed by the Tuscan, the Adriatic, and the Ionian seas.

Sicily speedily became the cause of war between the two republics. Neither could abandon to a rival that splendid island which lies in the center of the Mediterranean, touches Italy and looks out upon Africa. Carthage had been there long. Rome was invited thither by Mamertine mercenaries who had mastered Messina, which Hiero of Syracuse and the Carthaginians were besieging. The Romans delivered the city, defeated Hiero, and imposed upon him a treaty to which he remained faithful for fifty yars. Finally they expelled the Carthaginians from the interior of the island. The latter retained their seaports inasmuch as they were masters at sea. One fleet, constructed by the Romans and armed with powerful grappling irons, defeated the Carthaginian vessels in the first encounter. Another naval battle gained by Regulus at Ecnomos decided Rome to make a descent upon Africa. In a few months Carthage found herself reduced to her walls. The Lacedæmonian Xanthippus changed the aspect of affairs. After weakening Regulus by successive skirmishes, he defeated him in one great battle and destroyed his army. The war was again transferred to Sicily and languished there for years. The victory of Metellus at Panormus

revived the hopes of the Romans. Regulus was sent by Carthage to demand peace, which he exhorted the senate to refuse, and on his return is said to have been put to death with torture. But a great general had just arrived in Sicily, Hamilcar, the father of Hannibal. Fortifying himself at Eryx, he held the Romans in check for six years. Under these conditions the war might have dragged on many years longer, had not patriotism given to the senate a new fleet, that rendered the Romans supreme at sea. Hamilcar could not be provisioned. Carthage was compelled to end a ruinous war. She abandoned Sicily, restored all her prisoners without ransom, and in the course of ten years paid 3200 Eubœan talents.

War of the Mercenaries against Carthage (241-238).—The soldiers of Carthage were not citizens but mercenaries. These mercenaries rebelled and for three years Carthaginian Africa was desolated by the Libyan war. Hamilcar delivered his country from this scourge, but fell under suspicion and was exiled to Spain, whose conquest he undertook. In a few years the whole country as far as the Ebro was subdued by him and his son-in-law Hasdrubal. Rome in alarm stopped their progress by a treaty which stipulated the liberty of Saguntum, a Græco-Latin city, south of the Ebro.

Second Punic War (218-201).—Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar, wishing at any cost to renew the war against the Romans, attacked and destroyed Saguntum without waiting for orders from Carthage. With a carefully equipped army he crossed the Pyrenees, the Rhone, and the Alps. This audacious expedition consumed half of his forces but brought him into the midst of his allies, the Cisalpine Gauls. The consul Scipio was first beaten near the Ticinus in a cavalry engagement. A more serious affair on the banks of the Trebia drove the Romans from Cisalpine Gaul. In the following year they lost in Etruria, near Lake Thrasymenus, another sanguinary battle, and Hannibal was able to reach the center and south of Italy. Thanks to the wise delay of the dictator Fabius several months passed without any fresh disaster. The awful battle of Cannæ, in 216, cost

the legions 50,000 men. Capua with a part of southern Italy believed that the Romans were lost and renounced their allegiance. Rome was a marvel of constancy. She abandoned offensive warfare, fortified the strongholds, and tried by a line of intrenched places to hem in the general who thus far had been so fortunate in battle. Before this circle was complete Hannibal quitted Campania.

Since Carthage sent him no assistance, he sought to rouse Sardinia, Sicily, and Macedon. He summoned from Spain his brother Hasdrubal with a new army of Spaniards over the route which he himself had traced. But Sardinia was checked, rebellious Syracuse was taken by Marcellus despite the machines of Archimedes, and Philip of Macedon, vanquished on the banks of the Aoüs and threatened through the wiles of Rome by many Greek peoples, could not bring his phalanxes to assist Hannibal.

While her enemy made these fruitless efforts, Rome armed twenty legions, pressed Hannibal harder every day in Apulia and Lucania and waged a fierce war against Capua, to make a terrible example of that city which had been the first to give the signal of defection. To save it Hannibal forced his way to the very walls of Rome, but as vainly as Pyrrhus. Capua fell and its entire population was sold into slavery. Only one hope was left to Hannibal. His brother Hasdrubal was bringing him 60,000 men. Met on the banks of the Metaurus by the two consuls, Hasdrubal perished there with his whole army. Nevertheless Hannibal held out five years longer in the recesses of Bruttium, until Scipio forced him from Italy by besieging Carthage.

The two Scipios, Cneus and Cornelius, had been fighting for years in Spain. After brilliant successes they were overcome by superior forces and perished. Marcius, a young knight, saved the few survivors and confidence was already returning, when Publius Scipio, barely twenty-four years of age, the son of Cornelius, arrived to take command. At the very beginning he distinguished himself by a daring stroke in the surprise of Carthagena, the arsenal of the Carthaginians in the

peninsula. Aided by the Spaniards, whom his gentleness had won over, he defeated Hasdrubal, but allowed him to escape. Then he crossed to Africa, where he persuaded the Numidian king, Syphax, to sign an alliance with Rome.

Being rewarded for his successes by the consulship, he resolved to attack Carthage itself. Despite the opposition of Fabius, whom such rashness appalled, he landed his army in Africa. Though the Numidians on whom he counted failed him he routed all the armies sent against him and left Carthage, which he threatened with a siege, no other alternative than the recall of Hannibal. That unequaled general was himself defeated at his last battle at Zama. To his honor Scipio did not demand the extradition of Hannibal, but imposed the following conditions: Carthage might retain her laws and her African possessions, but must give up the prisoners and deserters, must surrender all her ships except ten, also all her elephants, and was to tame no more elephants in future; she must make no war, even in Africa, without the consent of Rome, and must raise no foreign mercenary troops; she must pay 10,000 talents in fifty years, must indemnify Massinissa and recognize him as an ally. To Scipio were delivered 4000 prisoners, a large number of fugitives whom he crucified or beheaded, and 500 ships which he burned on the open sea. Carthage was disarmed. That she might never recover, Scipio placed at her side a relentless enemy in Massinissa, whom he recognized as king of Numidia.

Returning to Rome Scipio received a magnificent triumph. He gained the name of Africanus and was offered the consulship and dictatorship for life. Thus Rome forgot her laws to honor her fortunate general. She offered Scipio what she was afterwards to allow Cæsar to take. Zama was not only the end of the second Punic War but also the beginning of universal conquest.

Third Punic War (149-146). **Destruction of Carthage.**—After Zama the existence of Carthage was only one long death agony. In 193 Massinissa robbed her of the rich territory of Emporia, a few years afterward of

other large tracts of land, and finally of the whole province of Tysca with sixty-three cities. The Carthaginians complained to Rome, and the Romans promised justice; but Massinissa retained the disputed territory. Cato was sent as arbitrator. He was astonished and indignant at finding Carthage wealthy, populous, and prosperous. Returning with hatred in his heart, he henceforth closed his speeches with the invariable words, "However, I think Carthage must be destroyed" (*Delenda est Carthago*).

Finally Carthage resisted an attack of Massinissa. The senate denounced this as a violation of the treaty. The two consuls immediately disembarked in Africa with 80,000 men. They demanded the surrender of all the weapons and machines of war. Then, after receiving everything, they ordered the Carthaginians to abandon their city and settle ten miles inland. Grief and indignation inflamed the tumultuous people. Day and night they spent in making arms. Hasdrubal collected in his camp at Nepheris as many as 70,000 men. The Roman operations being unsuccessful, the consulate was given to Scipio Æmilianus, the second Africanus, though he had asked only the ædileship. He restored discipline to the army and increased the courage of the soldiers.

Carthage was built upon an isthmus. Cutting off this isthmus by a trench and wall he prevented sorties. To starve out the 700,000 inhabitants he closed the port by an immense dike. The Carthaginians cut a new passage through the rock toward the open sea. A fleet, built from the wreck of their houses, came near surprising the Roman galleys but was repulsed by Scipio. When the ravages of famine had weakened the defense, he forced a part of the walls and took the city. The citadel, Byrsa, still held out. Situated at the center, it could be reached only through long, narrow streets, where the Carthaginians intrenched in their houses offered desperate resistance. It took six days and six nights for the army to reach the foot of the citadel. The garrison of 50,000 men surrendered on condition of saving their lives. At their head was Hasdrubal. His wife, after taunting her husband from the top of the wall

THE CARTHAGENIAN CONQUEROR, HANNIBAL, CROSSING THE RHONE ON HIS INVASION OF ROME 218 B.C.

From the Painting by Henri Motte

for his cowardice, cut the throats of her two children and threw herself into the flames. Scipio abandoned the smoking ruins to pillage. Commissioners sent by the senate reduced the Carthaginian territory to a Roman province to be known as Africa (146).

FOREIGN CONQUESTS OF ROME

(229-129)

Partial Conquest of Illyricum (229) **and of Istria** (221).—Between the first and second Punic wars, Rome had obtained a foothold upon Continental Greece. The Adriatic was then infested by Illyrian pirates, and Teuta, the widow of their last king, had killed two insolent Roman envoys. The senate dispatched 200 ships and 20,000 legionaries under the two consuls, who forced Teuta to pay tribute and to cede a large part of Illyricum. On occupying Istria the Romans became masters of one of the gates of Italy and also planted themselves at the north of Macedon, which they threatened from Illyricum.

Conquest of Spain (197-133). **Viriathus. Numantia.**—In Spain the war was longer and more difficult. The Spaniards, through hatred of Carthage, had supported the Romans during the second Punic War, but Rome did not grant them liberty. They revolted and Rome had to begin a reconquest of the whole country. Sixty-four years were required for the task. They slew 9000 men in the army of the Roman Galba. He pretended to treat, offered them fertile lands, and then massacred 30,000 of them. Such perfidy bore its natural fruit. A herdsman, Viriathus, escaped from the massacre and carried on a guerilla war in which the Romans lost their best soldiers. For five years he defeated all the generals sent against him. One day he surrounded the Consul Fabius in a narrow pass and forced him to sign a treaty, that declared " There shall be peace between

the Roman people and Viriathus." Cepio, the brother of Fabius, avenged him by fraud. He hired two officers of Viriathus to assassinate their chief. Thereupon his followers surrendered and were removed by Cepio to the shores of the Mediterranean, where they built Valencia.

The Spanish war in the north toward Numantia was tedious and obstinate. Consul after consul was baffled or defeated until the general arrived who had conquered Carthage. Gradually Scipio forced the Numantines back into their city, and surrounded it by four lines of intrenchments. Hard pressed by horrible famine, the inhabitants demanded battle but Scipio refused. Then they slew each other. Only fifty Numantines followed his triumphal chariot in Rome. Even then the northern mountaineers were not subdued. Spain was completely pacified only under Augustus. In 124 Metellus took possession of the Balearic Islands after nearly exterminating their inhabitants, and in 133 Attalus ceded his kingdom of Pergamus to the Romans.

Thus thirty years before Christ, the city which we have seen rise upon the Palatine Hill ruled from the Spanish coast on the Western Ocean to the center of Asia Minor. She possessed the three peninsulas of southern Europe, Spain, Italy, and Greece. Between Italy and Greece, through the subjection of the Illyrians, she had secured herself a road around the Adriatic, and Marseilles lent her its vessels and its pilots from the Var to the Ebro. Thus her conquest of the ancient world was far advanced. Her success was due to three forces which in politics generate other forces also. These were an astute senate, where the traditions of government were long preserved, a sagacious people, amenable to the laws which they had made for themselves, and that organized discipline in the legions which formed the most perfect military engine the world had yet known.

FIRST CIVIL WARS. THE GRACCHI. MARIUS. SULLA

(133-79)

Results of Conquests on Roman Manners and Constitution.—Yet the conquest of so many wealthy provinces had upon the manners and likewise upon the constitution of the Romans disastrous effects, which were already felt, and which on development were to destroy both the republic and liberty. Ancient simplicity was gradually abandoned. The descendants of Fabricius, Curius Dentatus, and Regulus fell into a ruinous luxury. To replace the sums squandered in debauch or in empty display, they robbed their allies and the public treasury. The censors, guardians of the public manners, had already been forced to expel certain high-born personages from the senate. If the great became greedy, the people became venal. The middle class had disappeared, decimated by continuous wars, ruined by the decay of agriculture and by the competition of the slaves and free laborers.

In place of that robust, proud, energetic population which had founded liberty and conquered Italy, there began to be seen in Rome only an idle, hungry crowd of beggars, continually recruited by the emancipation of slaves, inheriting neither the ideas nor the blood of the ancient plebeians. "There are not two thousand property-holders," said one of the tribunes. Such then was the situation. Two or three hundred families possessed millions, and below, very far below, were 300,000 beggars. Nothing between these two extremes of an arrogant aristocracy and a feeble and servile mob. The Gracchi undertook two things: to restore respect for the laws among those nobles who no longer respected anything; and to reawaken the sentiments of citizenship among men who were still called the sovereign people, but whom Scipio Æmilianus, knowing their origin, dubbed counterfeit sons of Italy.

The Gracchi (133-121).—Tiberius Gracchus, elected tribune in 133, began with the people. To regain their former virtues, they must resume their former habits. He wished to convert the poor into landowners, and to regenerate them by means of work. The republic owned immense territory, which had been encroached upon by the nobles. His project was to reclaim these appropriated lands and distribute them among the poor in small, inalienable lots. The reaffirmed Licinian law forbade any person to possess more than 500 jugera of public lands. However, he promised an indemnity for any outlay which occupants had made upon the property restored by them. The nobles resisted stubbornly. Tiberius, to break the veto of one of his colleagues, Octavius, caused him to be deposed. By thus trampling under foot the inviolable tribuneship, he provided a dangerous example, of which advantage was taken against himself. The nobles armed their slaves, attacked his partisans, and slew him on the steps of the Capitol (133).

In 123 Caius Gracchus was elected tribune, and openly resumed his brother's plans. He caused the agrarian law to be confirmed, established distributions of corn to the people, founded colonies for the poor citizens, and dealt a fatal blow to the authority of the senate by taking from it the administration of justice and giving it to the knights. During two years he was all-powerful in the city. But the senate to ruin his credit caused, for every measure he proposed, some more popular measure to be brought forward by one of their creatures, and Caius was unable to obtain reëlection for a third term. This check was a signal for which the Consul Opimius had been waiting. Caius suffered the fate of his brother, and 3000 of his partisans perished with him (121). The tribunes were dumb with terror during the next twelve years, and only recovered their voice at the scandals of the Numidian war, which brought into prominence Marius, the avenger of the Gracchi.

Marius. Conquest of Numidia (118-104).—He was a rough, illiterate citizen of Arpinum, an intrepid soldier and good general. Scipio had noticed him at the siege

of Numantia. The support of Metellus, who had always protected his family, gave him the tribuneship in 119. At once he introduced a decree against intrigue. All the nobility denounced this audacity on the part of an unknown young man; but in the senate Marius threatened the consul with prison and summoned his viator to arrest Metellus. The populace applauded. A few days later, the tribune forbade a gratuitous distribution of grain. This assumption of the right to read a lesson to both parties turned everyone against him. His zeal diminished with difficulty of promotion. He served obscurely as a prætor in Rome and a proprætor in Spain. On his return, the peasant of Arpinum sealed his peace with the nobles by a great marriage. He wedded the patrician Julia, great-aunt of Cæsar; and Metellus, forgetting his conduct as tribune in consideration of his military talents, took him to Numidia.

Micipsa, son of Massinissa and king of Numidia, had at his death (118) divided his states between his two sons and his nephew Jugurtha. The latter rid himself of one rival by assassination. Unable to surprise the other, he attacked him with open force in spite of Roman protection, and put him to death with torture, when famine had compelled his victim to open the gates of Cirtha, his last refuge (112). The senate had in vain sent two embassies to save him. Such audacity called for chastisement, but the first general sent against Jugurtha accepted bribes (111). A tribune summoned the king to Rome. Jugurtha had the hardihood to appear, but when one tribune ordered him to answer, another, whom he had bought, prohibited his replying.

A competitor for the Numidian throne was in the city. He had him killed (110). The senate ordered him to leave Rome at once. "City for sale!" he cried, as he passed through the gates; "thou only lackest a purchaser!" A consul followed him to Africa. The legions, cut off by the Numidians, repeated the disgrace endured before Numantia and passed under the yoke.

This war, which they had played with at first, soon became alarming, for the Cimbrians were threatening Italy with one more terrible. The honest but severe

Metellus was sent to Numidia. He restored discipline and pursued his tireless enemy without truce or relaxation. He defeated him near Muthul (109), and took from him Vacca, his capital, Sicca, Cirtha, and all the coast cities. When about to destroy the usurper, his lieutenant was appointed consul (107), and robbed him of the honor of finishing this war. The new general came near killing Jugurtha in battle with his own hand and made him fall back upon Mauritania. Jugurtha fled as a suppliant to his father-in-law Bocchus, who delivered him to the Romans. The captive monarch in chains (106) traversed his whole kingdom, followed Marius to Rome, and after the triumph was thrown into a prison excavated in the Capitoline mount. He died there six days after from hunger (104). Part of Numidia was added to the province of Africa.

Invasion of the Cimbri and the Teutons (113-102).—This success arrived at a fortunate time to reassure Rome then threatened by a great peril. Three hundred thousand Cimbri and Teutons, retreating before an overflow of the Baltic, had crossed the Danube, defeated a consul (113), and for three years had been devastating Noricum, Pannonia, and Illyricum. When there was nothing left to take, the horde fought its way into Gaul and crushed five Roman armies (110-105). Italy was uncovered but, instead of crossing the Alps, the barbarians turned toward Spain, and Rome had time to recall Marius from Africa. In order to harden his soldiers, he subjected them to the severest labors. When a part of the horde reappeared, he refused for a long time to fight, that his army might become accustomed to seeing the barbarians close at hand. The action took place near Aix, and the Romans made a horrible carnage among the Teutons (102).

Meanwhile the Cimbri, who had flanked the Alps, entered the peninsula through the valley of the Adige. Marius returned in all haste to the banks of the Po to the succor of his colleague Caculus. The barbarians were awaiting the arrival of the Teutons before fighting. The Cimbri allowed the Roman commander to choose the day and place of battle. At Vercellæ, as at Aix,

there was an immense massacre. Nevertheless more than 60,000 were made prisoners, but twice as many were massacred. The barbarian women, rather than be taken captive, slew their children and then killed themselves (101).

Renewal of Civil Troubles. Saturninus (106-98).—Marius had been continued four successive years in the consulship in reward of his services. His ambition was not satisfied. On reëntering Rome, he intrigued for the fasces of the magistracy. The nobles thought that the peasant of Arpinum had been honored enough. They put up Metellus Numidicus, his personal enemy, against him and reduced him to buying votes. Marius could not pardon this insult, and had them attacked by Saturninus, a low demagogue. Saturninus aspired to the tribunate. A partisan of the nobles was elected but the demagogue slew him and seized his place. For the benefit of Marius' veterans he immediately proposed an agrarian law, opposition to which caused the exile of Metellus. Soon afterwards Metellus was recalled.

Sulla. The Italian Revolt (91-88).—The wars with Jugurtha and the Cimbri had made the fortune of the plebeian Marius. Three other wars made the fortune of the patrician Sulla, who has left a sanguinary name. Descendant of the illustrious Cornelian house, he was Marius' first quæstor in the Numidian war. Ambitious, brave, eloquent, zealous, and energetic, Sulla soon became dear to the soldiers and their officers. Marius himself loved this young noble who did not rely upon his ancestors, and confided to him the dangerous mission of treating with Bocchus. It was into Sulla's hands that Jugurtha was betrayed. Marius associated him with his triumph, and employed him again in the war with the Cimbri. A misunderstanding having arisen, Sulla joined the army of Catulus. Later on, he commanded in Asia. The Social War brought his talents into prominence.

It was a period of general ferment. In the city, the people were rising against the nobles; in Sicily, the slaves were rebelling against their masters. Her allies were turning against Rome, whom they brought to the

brink of the abyss. The Italians, after long sharing all the dangers of the Romans, wished to enjoy equal privileges and claimed the right of citizenship. Scipio Æmilianus, Tiberius Gracchus, Saturninus, and finally the tribune Drusus encouraged them to hope for this title of citizen, which would have relieved them from the exactions and violence of the Roman magistrates. But the knights assassinated Drusus, and the allies, wearied by their long patience, resolved to obtain justice by force of arms.

Eight peoples of central and southern Italy exchanged hostages and arranged a general rising. They were together to form but one republic, organized after the pattern of Rome, with a senate of 500 members, two consuls, and twelve prætors. Their capital was to be the stronghold Corfinium, which they called by the significant name of Italica. The Latins, the Etruscans, the Umbrians, and the Gauls remained faithful to their allegiance. The signal was given from Asculum, where the consul Servilius was massacred together with all the Romans who were in the town; even the women were not spared (90). At first the allies had the advantage. Campania was invaded, one consul routed, another killed. Marius, who held a command, accomplished nothing worthy of his reputation. He contented himself with acting on the defensive, and soon he even withdrew, alleging his infirmities. His former relations with the Italians did not permit him to play a more active part. Sulla, who was hampered by nothing, was on the contrary energetic and deserved all the honor of this brief and terrible war. The prudence of the senate aided the skill of the generals. The Julian and Plautia-Papirian laws, which accorded the right of citizenship to the allies who had remained loyal, led to desertions, and at the end of the second year only the Samnites and Lucanians remained under arms. From the new citizens eight tribes were formed.

In this way Sulla had gained the consulship and the command of the war against Mithridates which Marius solicited in vain. This was the beginning of their rivalry and of the civil wars which led to military rule.

Proscriptions in Rome. Sulpicius and Cinna (88-84).—In order to annul the last-mentioned decree Marius made an agreement with the tribune Sulpicius, and a riot forced the new consul to leave Rome (88); but he came back at the head of his troops. Marius in turn fled before a sentence which put a price on his life. In Rome Sulla had diminished by several laws the power of the tribunes of the people. Hardly had he departed for Asia, when the consul Cinna demanded that their dangerous power be restored. On being driven out of Rome he began a war against the senate. Marius hastened to return and join him. With an army of fugitive slaves and Italians they routed the troops of the senate, forced the gates of the city, and put to death the friends of Sulla. For five days and five nights they slew without cessation, even on the altars of the gods. From Rome the proscription spread over Italy. They murdered in the cities and on the highways. It was forbidden under pain of death to bury the dead, which lay where they had fallen until devoured by dogs and birds of prey.

On January 1, 86, Marius and Cinna seized the consulship without election; but debauch hastened the end of the former. Twelve days afterward he expired. He had set a price on Sulla's head. Valerius Flaccus undertook to get it, but was himself killed by one of his lieutenants. Cinna, thus left alone, continued himself in the consulship during the two following years, and fell under the blows of his soldiers.

Victory of Sulla. His Proscriptions and Dictatorship (84-79).—At that moment Sulla was returning from Asia to avenge his friends and himself. His 40,000 veterans were so devoted to his person that they offered him their savings to fill his military chest. Unopposed he made his way into Campania (83), defeated one army, corrupted another, and vanquished the son of Marius in the great battle of Sacriportus (82). This success opened the road to Rome. He arrived there too late to prevent fresh murders. The most illustrious senators had been massacred in the curia itself. Sulla rapidly passed through Rome on his way to fight the

other consul, Carbo, in Etruria. One desperate battle which lasted all day had no result; but desertions decided Carbo to flee to Africa. Sertorius, another leader of the popular party, had already set out for Spain; only the young Marius, who was shut up in Præneste, remained in Italy. The Italians tried by a bold stroke to save him. A Samnite chief, Pontus Telesinus, who had not laid down his arms since the Social War, tried to surprise Rome and destroy it. Sulla had time to arrive. The battle near the Colline Gate lasted one whole day and night. The left wing commanded by Sulla was routed; but Crassus with the right wing dispersed the enemy. The field of battle was strewn with 50,000 corpses, half of which were Roman.

Then the butchery began in Rome. Every day a list of the outlawed was drawn up. From the first of December, 82, to the first of June, 81, during six long months, men could murder with impunity. There were assassinations afterward also, for Sulla's intimates sold the right to place a name on the fatal list. The property of the proscribed was confiscated, and sold at auction. The proscription did not stop with the victims. The sons and grandsons of the proscribed were declared forever ineligible to a public office. In Italy entire peoples were outlawed. The richest cities, Spoletum, Interamna, Præneste, Terni, Florence, were, so to speak, sold at auction.

After having slain men by the sword, Sulla tried to destroy the popular party by laws. To issue these laws he had himself proclaimed dictator, and took all the measures which he thought calculated to assure the power in Rome to the aristocracy. To the senate he restored the right of decision and of preliminary discussion, or in other words the legislative veto. He deprived the tribunes of the right to present a rogation to the people. Their veto was restricted to civil affairs, and the tribune could hold no other office. Thus the people and the nobles moved backward four centuries; the former to the obscurity of the time when they withdrew to Mons Sacer, the latter to the brilliancy and power of the early days of the republic.

When Sulla had accomplished his purposes, he abdicated. This abdication (76) seemed a defiance of his enemies and an audacious confidence in his own fortunes. He lived a year longer in the retirement of his villa at Cumæ. The epitaph he had written for himself was veracious: "No one has ever done more good to his friends, or more evil to his enemies."

The Popular Party ruined by the Defeat of Sertorius (72).—The popular party was crushed at Rome. Sertorius tried to revive it in Spain. Driven out at first by one of Sulla's lieutenants before he had had time to organize anything, and then recalled by the Lusitanians, he gained over the Spaniards who thought that they were fighting for their independence. Successfully he resisted for ten years the best generals of the senate (82-72). He wore out Metellus, his first adversary, by a war of skirmishes and surprises, and defeated Pompey in many encounters. Unfortunately the clever leader was badly seconded. Whenever he was absent his lieutenants were worsted. He was assassinated in his tent by Perpenna, one of his officers, who, unable to carry on the war which his victim had conducted, fell into the hands of Pompey. The conqueror boasted that he had captured 800 cities and ended the Civil Wars.

FROM SULLA TO CÆSAR. POMPEY AND CICERO

(79-60)

War against Mithridates under Sulla (90-84).—The shock which the empire had undergone from the popular turmoils in the times of the Gracchi and Marius, from the revolt of the slaves in Sicily, and the Social War in Italy, had affected the provinces. The provincials, horribly oppressed by the governors, wished to escape from that Roman domination in which the Italians merely had demanded a share. The Western provincials had joined Sertorius. Those in the East followed Mithridates.

Mithridates, king of Pontus, had subdued many Scythian nations beyond the Caucasus, also the kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and in Asia Minor, Cappadocia, Phrygia, and Bithynia. The senate, alarmed at this great power which was forming in the neighborhood of its provinces, ordered the prætor of Asia to restore the Bithynian and Cappadocian kings to their thrones (90). Mithridates silently made immense preparations. When he learned that Italy was on fire, through the insurrection of the Samnite peoples, he deluged Asia with his armies. Such hatred had the greed of the Roman publicans everywhere excited, that 80,000 Italians were assassinated in Asiatic cities at the order of Mithridates. Having subdued Asia, the king of Pontus invaded Greece and captured Athens (88). At any cost this conqueror who dared approach Italy must be stopped. Fortunately the Social War was nearing its end. In the spring of 87 Sulla arrived in Greece with five legions, and began the siege of Athens which lasted ten months. The city was bathed in blood. The Pontic army encountered Sulla near Chæronea. His soldiers were appalled at the hosts of the enemy. Like Marius he exhausted them with work until they themselves demanded battle. Of the 120,000 Asiatics only 10,000 escaped.

Sulla was still at Thebes, celebrating his victory, when he learned that the consul Valerius Flaccus was crossing the Adriatic with an army to rob him of the honor of terminating this war, and to execute the decree of proscription issued against him at Rome. At the same time Dorylaos, a general of Mithridates, arrived from Asia with 80,000 men. Thus placed between two perils Sulla chose the more glorious. He marched against Dorylaos, whom he met in Bœotia near Orchomenus. This time the engagement was fierce; Sulla was wounded but the Asiatic hordes were again dispersed. Thebes and three other cities of Bœotia met the fate of Athens.

While he was winning this second victory, Flaccus had preceded him into Asia. Mithridates, threatened by two armies, secretly sued for peace from Sulla, inti-

mating that he could obtain very mild terms from Fimbria, who had killed Flaccus and was making war on his own account. Mithridates vainly hoped to profit by the rivalry of the two chiefs. Finally the king humbly asked for an interview. It took place at Dardanus in the Troad. Mithridates made full submission, restored his conquests, delivered up the captives and deserters with 2000 talents and seventy galleys. Fimbria was then in Lydia. Sulla marched upon him, won over his army, and reduced him to suicide (84). With the soldiers trained in this war he returned to Italy to overthrow the party of Marius.

War against Mithridates under Lucullus and Pompey (74-63).—When six years later the king of Pontus heard of the dictator's death (78), he secretly incited the king of Armenia, Tigranes, to invade Cappadocia, and he himself prepared to enter the arena. All the barbaric tribes from the Caucasus to the Balkans furnished auxiliaries. Roman exiles drilled his troops and Sertorius sent him officers from Spain (74).

Lucullus, proconsul of Cilicia, having received orders to oppose him, was marching on Pontus, when he learned that his colleague, Cotta, had been twice defeated and blocked in Macedon (74). Hastening to his help, he drove Mithridates into Cyzicus, where that prince would have been captured had not a subordinate officer been negligent. Then he penetrated into Pontus and took the stronghold of Amisus (72). In the following year he surrounded the enemy again. The king escaped by scattering his treasures along the road so as to delay pursuit. He found refuge with Tigranes, who was then the most powerful monarch of the East, being master of Armenia and Syria, conqueror of the Parthians, and bearing the title of King of kings. Mithridates in his former prosperity had refused to recognize his supremacy. Therefore he was coldly received, but when Lucullus demanded that he should be surrendered, Tigranes in anger dismissed the envoy of the Roman general. The latter immediately began hostilities against his new enemy. He crossed the Tigris and with 11,000 foot and a few horse marched to encounter 250,000

Armenians. He dispersed the immense army of Tigranes and captured his capital, Tigranocerta.

Lucullus wintered in Gordyene, where he invited the king of the Parthians to join him. As that prince hesitated, he resolved to attack him, for he held in profound contempt those mobs which their princes mistook for armies. But his officers and soldiers, content with the immense booty they had already captured, refused, like those of Alexander, to follow him further. In 67 Pompey came to replace him. Mithridates had collected another army, which was destroyed at the first encounter, and Tigranes, threatened by a treacherous and rebellious son who fled to the Romans, was forced to humble himself. Reassured in this direction, Pompey pursued Mithridates to the Caucasus and conquered the Albanians and the Iberians. As the king still fled before him, he abandoned this fruitless pursuit. In the spring of 64, after having organized the Roman administration in Pontus, he descended into Syria, reduced that country and Phœnicia to provinces and captured Jerusalem, where he reëstablished Hyrcanus, who promised an annual tribute.

During these operations, Mithridates, who was reputed dead, reappeared with an army on the Bosphorus and forced his son Machares to kill himself. Then, despite his sixty years, this indomitable leader wished to penetrate Thrace, attach the barbarians to his cause, and descend upon Italy at the head of their innumerable hordes. His soldiers, alarmed at the magnitude of his plans, revolted at the instigation of his son Pharnaces. In order to escape being delivered alive to the Romans, he had himself killed by a Gaul (63). Pompey had only to finish in Asia "the splendid work of the Roman empire," distributing principalities and kingdoms to the friends of the senate.

Revival of the Popular Party at Rome. The Gladiators (71).—After the death of Sulla and during the war against Mithridates, events of considerable importance had been taking place in Italy. The consul Lepidus had aroused a tempest by merely uttering the words: "Reëstablishment of the authority of the tribuneship."

The whole party, which Sulla thought he had drowned in blood, had at once raised its head. The governor of Cisalpine Gaul joined Lepidus. The senate and the patricians trembled when Pompey, still at the head of the army which he had himself raised against the followers of Marius, offered to fight the new chiefs of the people. He vanquished one at the Milvian Bridge close to the gates of Rome and the other in Cisalpine Gaul. We have seen his success in pacifying Spain.

Seventy-eight gladiators escaped from Capua, where they were being trained in great numbers, and seized upon a natural stronghold under the guidance of a Thracian slave, Spartacus. There they repulsed troops sent against them. This success attracted to their ranks many herdsmen of the neighborhood. A second general was beaten. Spartacus wished to lead his army toward the Alps, cross those mountains, and restore each slave to his native country. His men, greedy for booty and vengeance, refused to follow and dispersed all over Italy for pillage. Then two consuls were defeated. Crassus finally succeeded in shutting up the gladiators in the extreme end of Brutium, whither their chief had conducted them with the intention of leading them across into Sicily. Before the investment was complete Spartacus took advantage of a snowy night to escape. Dissension arose among his men and several detached corps were destroyed. Spartacus alone seemed invincible. The confidence which his successes inspired among the gladiators ended in his ruin. They forced him to fight a decisive battle, in which he succumbed after having displayed heroic courage (71). Shortly afterward Pompey arrived from Spain. He met several bands of these unfortunate men and cut them in pieces. From this paltry victory he attributed to himself the honor of having terminated this war.

Pompey turns toward the People. War with the Pirates (67).—The nobles began to think that the vainglorious general had held commands enough and received him coldly. The people, on the contrary, to win him to their side greeted him with applause, so Pompey inclined toward the popular party. He proposed a law which re-

stored to the tribunate its ancient prerogatives. This was the overthrow of Sulla's constitution. The grateful populace committed to him the charge of an easy but brilliant expedition against the pirates who infested the seas (67), and the command of the war against Mithridates, whom Lucullus had already reduced. While accomplishing these enterprises, a memorable conspiracy was on the point of overturning the republic itself.

Cicero. Conspiracy of Catiline (63).—Cicero, like Marius, came from Arpinum. His fluent and flowery speech early revealed in him the ready orator. After a few successes at the bar he had the wisdom to continue his studies in Greece. He began his public career as a quæstor, and in the name of the Sicilians arraigned Verres, their former governor, the most shameless and greedy plunderer that Rome had ever seen. This trial, which had immense celebrity, raised to the highest pitch the renown of the prosecutor, whose speeches against Verres we still admire at the present day. Cicero being a new man needed support. He sought that of Pompey and helped to confer extraordinary powers upon him. Eventually recognizing the goal whither that ambitious general was tending, he labored to form a party of honest men who assumed the mission of defending the republic. His consulship appears to have been the realization of this plan.

The government was then menaced by a vast conspiracy. Catiline during the proscriptions had signalized himself among the most bloodthirsty. He had killed his brother-in-law, and murdered his wife and son to secure another woman in marriage. While proprætor in Africa he had committed terrible extortions. On his return he solicited the consulship, but a deputation from his province brought accusations against him, and the senate struck his name from the list of candidates. He had long been in league with the criminal classes at Rome. His plot to kill the consuls twice failed, and the enterprise was postponed to the year 63. Cicero was then consul, and realized how imminent was the danger. Catiline had collected forces in several places. The veterans of Umbria, Etruria, and Samnium were arm-

ing in his cause. The fleet at Ostia was apparently won over: Sittius in Africa promised to stir up that province and perhaps Spain also to rebellion. In Rome itself, Catiline believed he could count upon the consul Antonius. One of the conspirators was a tribune elect, another a prætor. In a full senate Catiline had dared to say, "The Roman people is a robust body without a head: I will be that head." It soon became known that troops were mustering in Picenum and Apulia, and that Manlius, one of Sulla's former officers, was threatening Fæsulæ with an army. The consuls were invested by the senate with discretionary power, but Catiline remained in Rome. Cicero drove him out by a vehement oration, in which he disclosed the conspirator's plans. Having thus expelled the leader, who joined Manlius and thereby proclaimed himself a public enemy, he seized his accomplices, caused their condemnation by the senate, and had them executed at once. This energy disheartened the rest of the conspirators. Antonius himself marched against Catiline, who was slain near Pistoia, after having fought valiantly.

CÆSAR

(60-44)

Cæsar, Leader of the Popular Party. His Consulship (60).—Cæsar, of the illustrious Julian family which claimed descent from Venus through Iulus, the son of Anchises, had braved Sulla when only seventeen years old. Nominated curule ædile in the year 65, he had won the people by magnificent games, and in spite of the senate had restored to the Capitol the trophies of his great-uncle Marius. The grateful people had nominated him sovereign pontiff. In 62 he was in debt 850 talents. The wealthy Crassus, who owned a whole quarter in Rome, had to become his bondsman. Otherwise his debtors would not allow him to depart and take possession of his province of Farther Spain.

When he returned in 60, he found Pompey and Crassus at variance with the senate; the first because it did not ratify his acts in Asia, the second because it left him no influence in the state. Cæsar brought them together, and induced them to form a secret union which has been designated as the triumvirate. All three swore to unite their resources and influence, and in every matter to act only in accordance with their common interest. Cæsar reaped the first and the surest profits from the alliance. His two colleagues agreed to support him for the consulship. In office he secured popularity by proposing and carrying an agrarian law in spite of the senate and of his colleague Bibulus. He won over the equestrian order by diminishing by a third the rents which the knights paid the state. He caused the acts of Pompey in Asia to be confirmed, and obtained for himself the government of Cisalpine Gaul and of Illyricum with three legions for a term of five years. In vain did Cato cry with prophetic voice: "You are arming tyranny and setting it in a fortress above your heads!" The trembling senate added as an earnest of reconciliation a fourth legion and a third province, Transalpine Gaul, where war was imminent (59). Before his departure Cæsar took great care to have Clodius, one of his creatures, appointed tribune. Thus he could hold both the senate and Pompey in check during his absence. Clodius soon delivered him from two obnoxious persons, Cato and Cicero, accusing the great orator of illegally putting to death Catiline's accomplices. Clodius secured against him a sentence of exile to a distance of 400 miles from Rome. Cato was ordered to reduce Cyprus to a province.

The Gallic War. The Helvetii, Ariovistus, and the Belgæ (58-57).—Since 125 the Romans had held Narbonensis, a province in Gaul, and were on friendly terms with the Ædui, a tribe in central Gaul. Their neighbors, the Sequani, were attacked by Ariovistus, a German chief. He had crossed the Rhine with 120,000 Suevi, overthrown the Sequani and Ædui, and harshly oppressed eastern Gaul. This was the beginning of the Germanic invasion. Another fact directed Cæsar's at-

tention to this quarter. The Helvetii, constantly attacked by the Suevi, wished to abandon their mountains and seek on the shores of the ocean a milder climate and an easier existence. Cæsar resolved to oppose these changes as unfavorable to Roman supremacy. The Helvetii having crossed the Jura in spite of his prohibition, he exterminated many of them on the banks of the Saone, and forced the rest to return to their mountains. Then in a sanguinary encounter he drove Ariovistus back beyond the Rhine (58). Gaul was delivered. As the legions established their camps at the very frontiers of Belgium, the Belgic tribes grew alarmed at seeing the Romans so near them. They formed a vast league, which was broken by the treachery of the Remi, and the tribes, attacked separately, were forced to submit.

Armoricum and Aquitaine. Britain and beyond the Rhine (56-53).—The third campaign subdued Armoricum and the Aquitani. In the fourth and fifth, two expeditions beyond the Rhine deprived the barbarians of all desire of crossing that river or of aiding the Gauls. Two descents upon Britain cut off Gaul from that island, the center of the druidic religion. The whole of Gaul apparently was resigned to the yoke.

General Insurrection. Vercingetorix.—Nevertheless a general insurrection was preparing from the Garonne to the Seine. A young chieftain of the Arverni, Vercingetorix, directed the movement (52). The legions were dispersed but Cæsar acted with great celerity and skill. With his lieutenant, Labienus, who had won a battle near Paris, Cæsar attacked 200,000 Gauls, who were trying to cut him off from the Alps. He gained a decisive victory, crowded his enemy into Alesia, and surrounded them. Vercingetorix was forced to surrender.

Defeat of Crassus by the Parthians.—While Cæsar was conquering Gaul by his activity and genius, one of the triumvirs, Crassus, undertook an expedition against the Parthians. After pillaging the temples of Syria and Jerusalem, he crossed the Euphrates with seven legions, plunged into the immense plains of Mesopotamia, and soon encountered the innumerable cavalry of the Parthians. When these horsemen hurled themselves upon

the legions, the Roman arms and courage proved of no avail against the tactics of the enemy. When they advanced, the Parthians fled; when they halted, the squadrons hovered around the stationary host and slew them with arrows from a distance. Disheartened, the legions retreated to Carrhæ, leaving 4000 wounded. The very next day the Roman army was overtaken by the Parthians, and the terrified soldiers forced Crassus to accept an interview with the surena, or Parthian general-in-chief. The interview was an ambuscade. Crassus and his escort were killed. Only a few feeble remnants recrossed the Euphrates (53).

Civil War between Cæsar and Pompey (49-48).—Between the two surviving triumvirs peace could not long endure. While Crassus was fighting in Syria and Cæsar in Gaul, Pompey had remained in Rome. Daily insulted by Clodius, he soon recalled Cicero, the personal enemy of that demagogue, and then stirred up the tribune Milo, who opposed Clodius with a band of gladiators and finally killed him. The senate won Pompey to its side by causing his election as sole consul with absolute power (52). This was monarchy in disguise; but the senate desired a general and an army to oppose Cæsar, whose glory daily became more menacing. Cato approved these concessions. Though Pompey was a usurper, his usurpation was acquired by legal means. But how was he to defend himself against his former associate in the triumvirate? Then began attacks upon Cæsar, for the purpose of taking away his command. In vain did the tribune Curio declare that Pompey must abdicate to save liberty, if Cæsar were dispossessed. On January 1, 49, a decree of the senate declared Cæsar a public enemy if by a certain day he did not abandon his troops and his provinces. Two tribunes who opposed were threatened by the followers of Pompey and fled to Cæsar's camp. He no longer hesitated, crossed the Rubicon, the boundary of his government, and in sixty days drove from Italy Pompey and the senators who wished to follow him (49). Then he attacked the Pompeian party in Spain and forced it to lay down its arms. On his way back he captured Mar-

JULIUS CÆSAR

From a Bronze Bust now in the Berlin Museum

seilles and returned to Rome, where the people had conferred upon him the title of dictator.

Pompey had retired toward Dyrrachium in Epirus and thence called to him all the forces of the East. In January, 48, Cæsar crossed the Adriatic, and although his army was greatly inferior in numbers tried to surround his adversary. Being repulsed in an attack against positions which were too strong, and in need of food, he marched to Thessaly, whither Pompey followed. The battle of Pharsalia, the defeat and flight of Pompey to Egypt, where he was treacherously murdered at the moment of his disembarkation in a supposed friendly land, left Cæsar without a rival.

War of Alexandria. Cæsar Dictator (48-44).—With his usual activity, he had followed on the heels of Pompey and had arrived in Egypt a few days after him. The ministers of the young Ptolemy expected a reward for their treachery. He showed only horror. Fascinated by the charms of Cleopatra, the sister of the king, he wished her to reign jointly with her brother. Then the ministers stirred up the immense population of Alexandria, and the victor of Pharsalia beheld himself with 7000 legionaries besieged for seven months in the palace of the Lagidæ. Reinforcements came to him from Asia. He assumed the offensive and defeated the royal army. The fleeing king was drowned in the Nile, and Cleopatra remained sole mistress of Egypt (48). Cæsar returned to Rome by way of Asia, where he routed Pharnaces. *Veni, vidi, vici,* he wrote to the senate (47). Another war awaited him. The survivors of Pharsalia, who had taken refuge in Africa, now formed a formidable army supported by Juba, king of the Numidians. He conquered it at Thapsus and captured Utica, where Cato had just committed suicide rather than survive liberty (46).

The sons of Pompey roused Spain to revolt in the following year. This last was a difficult struggle. At Munda Cæsar was obliged to fight for his life, but his enemies were crushed. All the honors which flattery could invent were bestowed upon the conqueror. He was declared almost a god. All the prerogatives of

authority were surrendered to him. However, no man ever made a nobler use of his power. There were no proscriptions. All injuries were forgotten. Discipline was sternly maintained in the army. The people, while surfeited with festivals and games, were firmly ruled and Italian agriculture was encouraged as the Gracchi had wished that it should be. No new names were invented for this new authority. The senate, the comitia, the magistracies, existed as in the past. Only Cæsar concentrated in himself all public action by uniting in his own hands all the offices of the republic. As dictator for life and consul for five years, he had the executive power with the right to draw upon the treasury; as imperator, the military power; as tribune, the veto on the legislative power. Chief of the senate, he directed the debates of that assembly; prefect of customs, he decided them according to his pleasure; grand pontiff, he made religion speak in accordance with his interests and watched over his ministers. The finances, the army, religion, the executive power, a part of the judicial power, and indirectly nearly all the legislative power were thus at his discretion.

Cæsar had conceived grand projects. He wished to crush the Daci and Getæ, avenge Crassus, penetrate even to the Indus, and, returning through conquered Scythia and Germany, in the Babylon of the West place on his brow the crown of Alexander. Then, master of the world, he would cut the Corinthian isthmus, drain the Pontine marshes, pierce Lake Fucinus, and throw across the Apennines a great road from the Adriatic to the Tuscan sea. Then he would extend the rights of citizenship in order to cement the unity of the empire; collect in one code the laws, the decrees of the senate, the plebiscites, and the edicts; and gather in a public library all the products of human thought.

But for many months a conspiracy had been forming. Cassius was its head. He carried with him Brutus, nephew and son-in-law of Cato, a man of many virtues, but egotistic and a blind partisan of former institutions. On the ides of March (March 15), 44, the conspirators assassinated Cæsar in the senate.

THE SECOND TRIUMVIRATE

Octavius.—With Cæsar dead the conspirators supposed liberty would return unaided; but Antony, then consul, stirred up the people against them at the dictator's funeral and drove them from the city. Cæsar had left no son, only a nephew, Octavius, whom he had adopted. When this young man, eighteen years of age, came to Rome, Antony, expecting to inherit the power of his former chief, disdained the friendless aspirant; but the name of Cæsar rallied round Octavius all the veterans. As he agreed to discharge the legacy bequeathed by Cæsar to the people and the soldiers, he created for himself by that declaration alone a numerous faction. The senate, where Cicero tried once more to rescue liberty from the furious hands which sought to stifle it, needed an army wherewith to oppose Antony. This army Octavius alone could give. Cicero flattered the youth, whom he hoped to lead, and caused some empty honors to be conferred upon him. He was sent with two consuls to the relief of Decimus Brutus, one of Cæsar's murderers, whom Antony was besieging in Modena. The campaign was short and sanguinary (43). Antony was defeated, but the two consuls perished, and Octavius demanded for himself one of the vacant offices. The senate, which thought it needed him no longer, disdainfully rejected his demand. He immediately led eight legions to the very gates of Rome, made his entry amid the plaudits of the people, who declared him consul, had his election ratified, and distributed to his troops at the expense of the public treasury the promised rewards.

Second Triumvirate. Proscription. Battle of Philippi.—He could now treat with Antony without fear of suffering eclipse. He was consul. He had an army. He was master of Rome, and around him all those Cæsarians had rallied whom the violence of his rival had estranged. The negotiations made rapid progress. Antony, Lepidus, the former general of Cæsar's cavalry, and Octavius

met near Bologna on an island of the little river Reno. There they spent three days in forming the plan of the second triumvirate. A new magistracy was created under the title of "triumviri reipublicæ constituendæ." Lepidus, Antony, and Octavius conferred upon themselves the consular power for five years, with the right to dispose for the same period of all the offices. Their decrees were to have the force of law, and each reserved to himself two provinces on the outskirts of Italy: Lepidus, Narbonensis and Spain; Antony, the two Gauls; Octavius, Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia. To make sure of their soldiers, the triumvirs promised them 5000 drachmæ apiece and the lands of eighteen of the finest cities in Italy.

Before returning to Rome they issued an order to put to death seventeen of the most prominent persons of the state. Cicero was among the number. On their arrival they promulgated the following edict: "Let no one conceal any of those whose names are hereinafter given. Whoever shall assist a proscribed person to escape shall himself be proscribed. Let the heads be brought to us. In recompense, the freeman shall receive 25,000 drachmæ, the slave 10,000 together with free liberty and citizenship." Then followed a list of 130 names. A second list of 150 appeared almost immediately afterward, soon followed by others. At the head of the first stood the names of a brother of Lepidus, of an uncle of Antony, and of a tutor of Octavius. Each leader had given up a kinsman, thus purchasing the privilege of not being hampered in his vengeance. The ill-omened days of Marius and Sulla began anew and again were seen hideous trophies of bleeding heads. Cicero was killed in his villa at Gaeta.

On leaving Italy Brutus had gone to Athens. The governor of Macedon resigned his command to him. From the Adriatic to Thrace in a few days everything obeyed the republican general. Cassius for his part had seduced the eastern legions.

To raise money, he made the provinces pay in one installment the taxes of the next ten years. The republican army, loaded down with the plunder of Asia, re-

entered Europe and advanced as far as Philippi in Macedon to meet the triumvirs. Antony posted himself opposite Cassius; Octavius opposed Brutus. The two armies were nearly equal in numbers, but the republicans had a formidable fleet, which cut off communication by sea. Thus Antony, threatened with famine, was anxious for battle, but Cassius for the contrary reason wished to defer it. Brutus, eager to end the civil war, desired action. Octavius, who was ill, had been removed from his camp when Messala, attacking with impetuosity, penetrated his lines. Brutus thought the victory was won. But on the other wing Antony had dispersed his antagonists, and Cassius regarding his party as ruined had committed suicide.

Twenty days after this action, another took place, in which the troops of Brutus were surrounded and put to rout. Their leader, who escaped with difficulty, halted on an eminence to accomplish what he called his deliverance. He threw himself on his sword. Antony showed some mildness toward the captives, but Octavius was pitiless. The republican fleet proceeded to join Sextus Pompey (42).

Antony in the East. The Perusian War (39).—The two conquerors made a new partition of the world between them, regardless of Lepidus, who was supposed to have an understanding with Pompey. Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt, had furnished money and troops to Cassius. Antony demanded an explanation of her conduct. To Tarsus in Cilicia, where he was, she came in person hoping to conquer him as she had conquered Cæsar by her charms.

Antony was an easy prey. When he beheld this elegant and accomplished woman, who spoke six languages, holding her own with him in his orgies, he forgot Rome and Fulvia his wife, to follow her, tamed and docile, to Alexandria (41). While he was wasting precious time in shameful debauchery, Octavius in Italy was attempting the impossible task of satisfactorily dividing the lands. The dispossessed proprietors, who unlike Virgil could not buy back their property with fine verses, hastened to Rome, lamented their misfortunes, and excited

the people to revolt. The brother of Antony thought this an opportunity to overthrow Octavius and collected seventeen legions, with which he seized Rome, announcing the speedy restoration of the republic. But Agrippa, the best officer of Octavius, drove him from the city and forced him to take refuge in Perusia, where famine compelled his surrender (40). Fulvia fled to Greece with all Antony's friends and Octavius remained sole master of Italy. The news roused the triumvir from his unmanly torpor but his soldiers ordered peace, and the two adversaries made a new partition, which gave Antony the east as far as the Adriatic with the obligation to fight the Parthians, and the west to Octavius with the war against Sextus Pompey. The latter, however, a few days later signed the treaty of Misenum. He was to retain Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia, and Achæa. Lepidus received Africa (39).

Wise Rule of Octavius. Antony against the Parthians. —The peace of Misenum was only a truce. Octavius could not consent to leave the provisioning of Rome and of his legions at the mercy of Pompey. The struggle broke out in 38. The victory of Naulochus assured the success of Octavius (36). Sextus, who had taken refuge in Asia, was put to death in Miletus by one of Antony's officers (35). Octavius rid himself at the same time of Lepidus, whom he banished to Circeii, where he lived some twenty-three years longer. When Octavius returned to Rome the people, who beheld prosperity suddenly revived, accompanied him to the Capitol and crowned him with flowers. They wished to lavish honors upon him. Already beginning his rôle of self-abnegation and modesty, he suppressed several taxes, and declared his intention of abdicating as soon as Antony terminated the war against the Parthians. Meanwhile his energetic administration reëstablished order at home. Bandits were hunted down and fugitive slaves restored to their masters or put to death when not reclaimed. In less than a year security reigned at the capital and in the country. Rome was governed.

In 37 Antony came to Tarentum to renew the triumvirate for five years. Excited by the victories of his

lieutenants, he decided to assume in person the command of the Parthian War. Scarcely had he touched Asiatic soil when his passion for Cleopatra revived more madly than ever. He had her come to Laodicea, recognized the children she had borne him, and added to her dominions almost the whole coast from the Nile as far as Mount Taurus. Though those countries were for the most part Roman provinces, the caprice of the all-powerful triumvir had more influence than senate or laws.

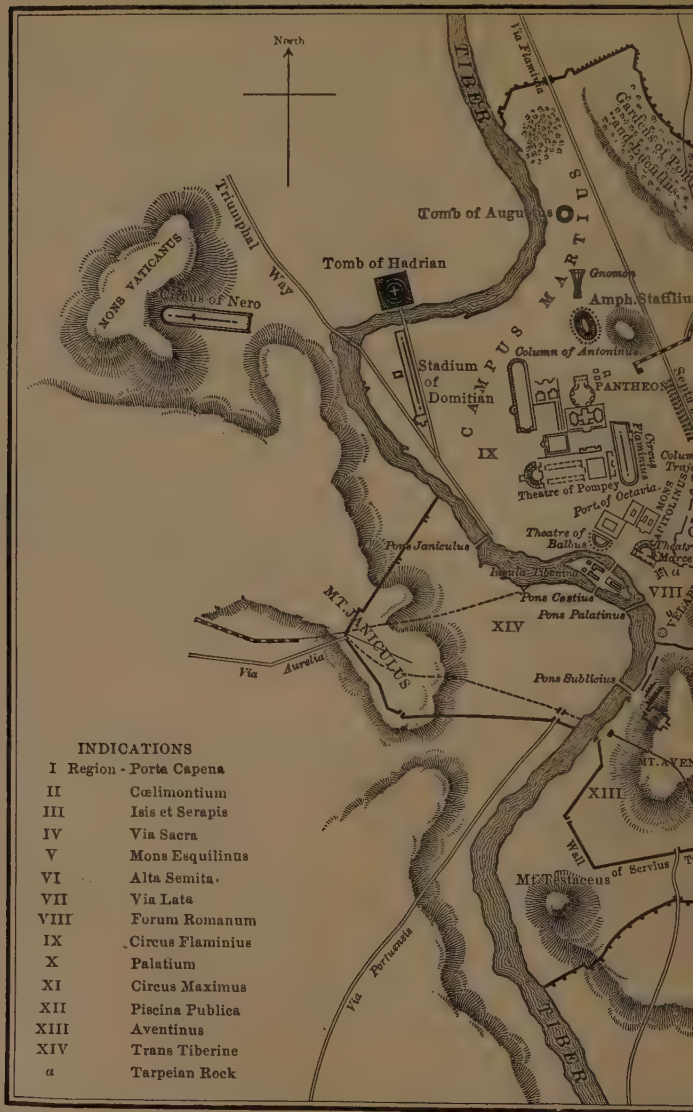
At last Antony decided to march against the Parthians with 60,000 foot, 10,000 horsemen, and 30,000 auxiliaries. He marched through Armenia, whose king Artavasdes was his ally, and penetrated as far as Phraata near the Caspian Sea; but he had not brought his siege machines, and was obliged to retreat. After twenty-seven days' march, during which they fought eighteen battles, the Romans reached the Araxes, the frontier of Armenia. Their road from Phraata was marked by the corpses of 24,000 legionaries. Fortune offered Antony a last opportunity to repair his reverses. A quarrel had arisen between the king of the Parthians and the king of the Medes as to division of the spoils. The angry Mede intimated that he was ready to join the Romans. Cleopatra prevented Antony from replying to this appeal, and carried him off in her train to Alexandria.

While Antony was disgracing himself in the East, Octavius was giving to Italy that repose for which she hungered. He conquered the pirates of the Adriatic and the turbulent tribes, the Liburni and Dalmati, at the north. At the siege of Metulum, he himself mounted to the assault and received three wounds. He penetrated as far as the Sava, and subdued a part of Pannonia. Thus, of the two triumvirs, the one was bestowing Roman countries upon a barbarous queen, and the other was increasing the territory of the empire. However, Antony complained and demanded a share in the spoils of Sextus and Lepidus. Octavius replied with bitter criticisms of his conduct in the East, and read to the senate the will of Antony, which bequeathed to Cleopatra and her children the greater part of the provinces

which he had in his power. Octavius wished to strengthen the rumor that Antony, should he become the master, would make a gift to Cleopatra of Rome itself. A decree of the senate declared war against the queen of Egypt.

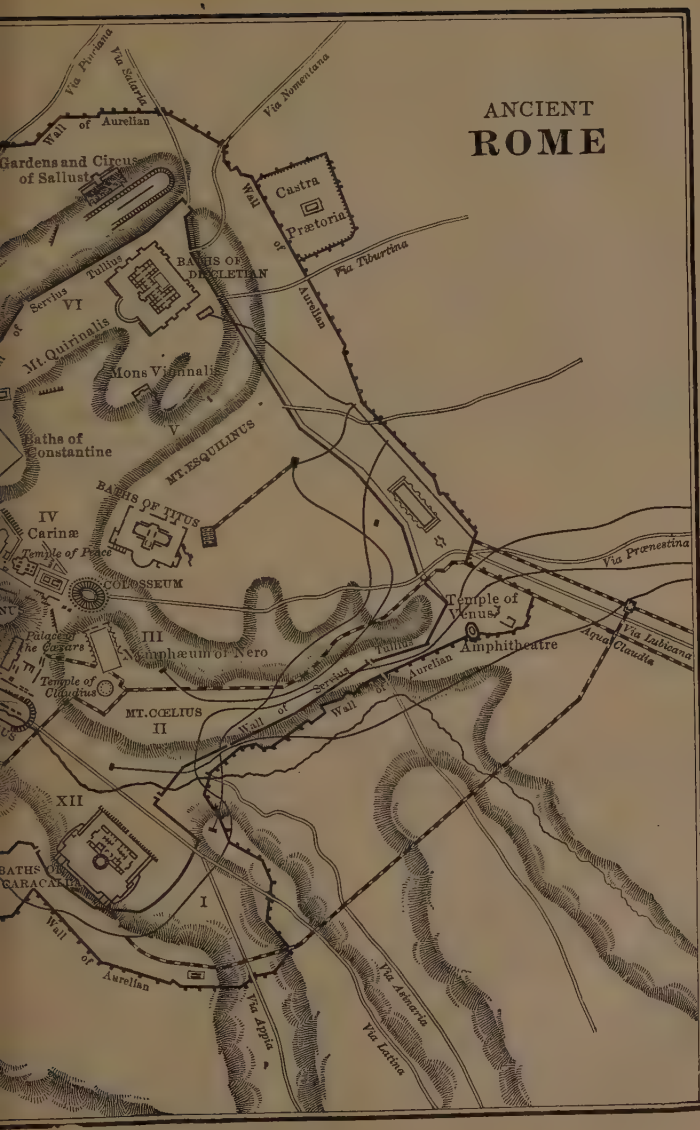
Actium. Death of Antony. Egypt a Roman Province.—Antony had collected 100,000 foot, 12,000 horse, and 500 great ships of war. Octavius had only 80,000 foot, 12,000 horse, and 250 vessels of inferior size. His galleys, however, were lighter and swifter and were manned by the veteran sailors and soldiers who had defeated Sextus Pompey. The battle was fought off Actium on the coast of Acarnania (31). Cleopatra took to flight in the middle of the action with sixty Egyptian ships, and Antony submissively followed her. The abandoned fleet surrendered. The army for seven days resisted all solicitation. This time Octavius did not stain his victory by acts of revenge. No suppliant for life was refused. The victor, recalled to Italy to quiet troubles there, could not pursue his rival until the following year. Antony tried to defend Alexandria but was betrayed by Cleopatra and committed suicide. The queen herself, having vainly sought to move the conqueror, had herself stung by an asp. Octavius reduced Egypt to a Roman province (30).

Rome belonged to a master. Two centuries of war, pillage, and conquests had destroyed equality in the city of Fabricius, had taught insolence to the nobles, servility to men of low degree, and replaced the citizen army by a mercenary rabble, who cared nothing for the state, its laws or liberty, and recognized only the leader whose hand offered them booty and gold. The establishment of the empire was certainly a military revolution. But, since Rome had not been able to halt at the popular reforms of the Gracchi or the aristocratic reform of Sulla, this revolution had become inevitable. It was impossible that the institutions, adequate for a city of a few thousand inhabitants, should be adequate for a society of 80,000,000 souls; that the city, now become the capital of the world, should continue to be disturbed by sterile and bloody rivalries; that the kings, the allied



INDICATIONS

I	Region - Porta Capena
II	Cœlimontium
III	Isis et Serapis
IV	Via Sacra
V	Mons Esquilinus
VI	Alta Semita.
VII	Via Lata
VIII	Forum Romanum
IX	Circus Flaminius
X	Palatium
XI	Circus Maximus
XII	Piscina Publica
XIII	Aventinus
XIV	Trans Tiberine
a	Tarpeian Rock


ANCIENT
ROME
Via Portuensis
Via Salaria
Via Nomentana
Wall of Aurelian
Gardens and Circus of Sallust
Castra Prætoria
Wall of Aurelian
Via Tiburtina
BATHS OF DIOCLETIAN
Tullius
Servius
VI
Mt. Quirinalis
Mons Viminalis
V
Baths of Constantine
MT. ESQUILINUS
BATHS OF TITUS
IV
Carinæ
Temple of Peace
COLOSSEUM
Via Prænestina
Temple of Venus
Via Labicana
Aqua Claudia
Palace of the Cæsars
III
Amphitheatre
Nymphæum of Nero
Tullius
Servius
Aurelian
Temple of Claudius
MT. CŒLIUS
II
Wall of Aurelian
XII
BATHS OF CARACALLA
I
Wall of Aurelian
Via Appia
Via Asinaria
Via Latina

nations, and the provinces should remain the prey of the 200 families which composed the Roman aristocracy.

But in place of the citizens who were despoiled and who merited their fate, could men be formed, capable by their voluntary discipline and political intelligence of winning new rights, higher perhaps than those which they had lost? If liberty was destined not to return, could anyone understand how to organize those multitudes, ignorant henceforth of any will save that of the prince, into a vigorous body capable of a long existence? Since there is to be an empire instead of a city, shall we see a great nation take the place of the oligarchy which had just been overthrown, and of the populace which regarded the victory of Cæsar and of Octavius as its triumph? The history of Augustus and of his successors will be the answer.

AUGUSTUS AND THE JULIAN EMPERORS

(B.C. 31-A.D. 68)

Constitution of the Imperial Power (30-12).—Antony was dead and Egypt attached to the imperial domain. Octavius returned to Asia Minor. There he spent the winter in regulating the affairs of the East, while Mæcenas and Agrippa kept watch for him in Rome. Their task was easy, for the only sounds were the adulatory decrees of the senate. When at last he returned to his capital after his triumph, he distributed to the soldiers 1000 sesterces apiece, to the citizens four hundred, and shut the temple of Janus to announce the new era of peace and order that had begun.

As consul he was legally to retain for six years almost the entire executive power. Yet above all he had need of the army. In order to remain at its head he caused the senate to bestow upon him the title of imperator with the supreme command of all the military forces.

The generals were henceforth only his lieutenants, and the soldiers took the oath of loyalty to him.

He preserved the senate and resolved to make of it the pivot of his government. First, however, with Agrippa as his colleague he was proclaimed censor; this enabled him to expel from the senatorial body unworthy members or opponents of the new order. When the former censors completed the census, the man whose name they had placed at the head of the list, generally one of themselves, was called chief of the senate. This purely honorary post Octavius retained during the remainder of his life. Agrippa had given his colleague this republican title, and thus placed the deliberations of the senate under his direction; for, in accordance with ancient usage, the chief always expressed his opinion first and this first opinion exercised an influence now destined to be decisive.

The senators had placed nearly all the provinces under his authority by investing him with the proconsulship. Octavius wished that they should at least share this office with him. He left them the tranquil and prosperous regions of the interior, and took for himself those still in turmoil or threatened by the barbarians, and where in consequence the troops were stationed. In the fervor of its gratitude, the senate called him Augustus, a title which had been applied only to the gods. It is by this title he is commonly known. Three years later it bestowed upon him the tribuneship for life or inviolability in office. In the year 19 he was decreed consul for life. He had formerly accepted the command of the provinces and the armies for ten years only. In the year 18 he caused his powers to be renewed, each time protesting against the violence done his preferences in the name of the public interest. Finally he caused himself to be named sovereign pontiff. There was nothing else left worth the taking (12). Thus centering in himself every high office, conferred in accordance with all the forms of law, he was absolute master of Rome and the empire. His reign of forty-four years was employed in tranquil organization of the monarchy. The emasculated senate still existed as

the council of state. He even increased its attributes by intrusting to it the decision in all political cases and important suits. The people also retained the form of their assemblies, but the public elections were merely to confirm the choice made by the prince.

Military and Financial Organization.—As the real power rested upon the soldiers, he made the army a permanent organization, and stationed it along the frontiers in intrenched camps ready to resist the barbarians. Regulations determined the duration of service, the treatment of veterans, and the pay of the three or four hundred thousand men. Fleets at Frejus, Misenum, and Ravenna acted as the police of the Mediterranean. Flotillas were stationed on the Danube and Euxine. As he was chief of all the legions and as the generals were only his lieutenants fighting under the auspices of the imperator, none of them, according to Roman ideas, could enjoy a triumph.

The civil was patterned after the military administration. Annually the senate continued to send proconsuls to the interior provinces which the emperor left it. The frontier provinces were governed by imperial legates who retained office as long as the sovereign saw fit. This was a salutary innovation, because now the officers remained long at their posts, and hence became acquainted with the needs of those under their administration.

As there were apparently two kinds of provinces, there were two financial administrations, the public treasury or ærarium, and the treasury of the prince or the fiscus. The ærarium, which received the tributes of the senatorial provinces, was moreover put by the senate at the sovereign's disposition, so he disposed of all the financial resources of the empire just as he disposed of all its military forces. These resources were insufficient to defray the new expenses. It became necessary to reëstablish customs duties and create new taxes, such as a twentieth on inheritances, a hundredth on commodities, and fines for celibacy. All these revenues, joined to the tributes of the provinces, yielded perhaps eighty or a hundred million dollars.

Administration of Augustus in the Provinces and at Rome.—If everything belonged to Augustus, his time, his services, and even his fortune belonged to all. During his long journeys through the provinces, he relieved cities in debt and rebuilt those which some calamity had destroyed. Tralles, Laodicea, Paphos, overthrown by earthquake, arose from their ruins more beautiful than before. One year he even defrayed from his own revenues all the taxes of the province of Asia. The measures of the imperial administration in general accorded with the conduct of the prince, who was an example and a lesson to his officers. In religious matters no violence was allowed save in Gaul, where druidism with its human sacrifices was vigorously assailed. That the taxes might be justly apportioned a general register of valuation was needed. Augustus had this drawn up.

Three geometers traveled throughout the empire and measured distances. This work served also another end. The empire once surveyed and measured, it was easy to make roads. Augustus repaired those of Italy, constructed those of Cisalpine Gaul, and covered all Gaul and the Iberian peninsula with highways. Then upon these roads a regular service of posts was organized. The messengers of the prince and the armies could be rapidly transported from one province to another. Commerce and civilization gained thereby. New life circulated in this empire, so admirably planted all around the Mediterranean Sea. Augustus devoted particular attention to contenting the people of Rome with games and the distribution of corn. He adorned the city with numerous monuments, appointed a prefect and city cohorts to preserve public tranquillity, and night watches to prevent or extinguish fires. He could boast of leaving a city of marble where he had found one of brick. In the still barbarous western provinces, by making new territorial divisions, he effaced their former independent habits, and founded numerous colonies to multiply the Roman element in the midst of these populations.

During the triumvirate Octavius had often exhibited cruelty, but Augustus almost always pardoned. He

lived less like a prince than like a plain private person, simply and with dignity with his friends, Mæcenas, Horace, Virgil, Agrippa, who were not always courtiers.

Foreign Policy. Defeat of Varus (9 A.D.).—After Actium he thought the wars were finished, and by closing the doors of the temple of Janus he had declared that the new monarchy renounced the spirit of conquest which had animated the republic. In fact, there were no serious wars in the East, where the mere threat of an expedition decided the Parthians to restore the flags of Crassus. But in Europe the empire had not yet found its natural limits. In order to place Italy, Greece, and Macedon beyond the danger of invasion, it was necessary to control the course of the Danube. To avoid apprehension on the left bank of the Rhine the German tribes must be expelled from the right bank. This was the object of a series of expeditions, all of which succeeded with one exception. In the year 16, Drusus and Tiberius subdued the tribes in Rhætia, Vindelicia, and Noricum on the northern slope of the Alps, thereby extending the Roman frontier to the upper Danube. Seven years later Drusus crossed the lower Rhine and penetrated to the banks of the Elbe. After his death his brother Tiberius took up his winter quarters in the very heart of Germany, and the Roman influence spread by degrees from his camp. Meanwhile the Marcoman Marbod was founding in Bohemia a kingdom defended by 70,000 foot and 4000 horse, all disciplined in the Roman manner. Augustus became alarmed at these neighbors, and was preparing a formidable army to destroy this rising state beyond the Danube, when the Pannoni and Dalmati rebelled in its rear. Tiberius induced Marbod to treat, and thus was able to fall upon the rebels with fifteen legions. However, three campaigns were necessary to overcome their desperate resistance.

Only five days after the definite submission of the Pannoni and Dalmati, Rome learned with consternation that three legions had been drawn into an ambush by Hermann, a young chieftain of the Cherusci, and had been utterly destroyed together with their general

Varus. Northern Germany was rising in revolt, and was pushing the Roman domination back upon the Rhine. "Varus, Varus! Give me back my legions," Augustus cried in sorrow. Marbod, jealous of Hermann, made no movement, and Augustus, reassured on the score of the Danube, was able to send Tiberius into Gaul. He fortified the strongholds along the Rhine, reëstablished discipline, and for the sake of restoring a little confidence even risked the eagles on the other side of the river. Germanicus took his place in command of the eight legions which garrisoned the left bank of the Rhine. The enemy content with their victory were not yet desirous to attack. The empire was saved, but the glory of a long and pacific reign was tarnished by this disaster. Augustus died five years afterwards (14 A.D.).

Augustus gave his name to a great literary epoch. Posterity pictures him surrounded by Titus Livius, Horace, and Virgil, whom the other illustrious writers, Lucretius, Catullus, Cicero, Sallust, and Cæsar, had preceded by a few years. We possess nothing of Varius, a tragic poet much lauded at the time, but many elegies are left us of Tibullus, Gallus, and Propertius, and almost all the works of Ovid. Trogus Pompeius compiled a universal history which unhappily is lost; Celsus, a sort of encyclopædia, of which only the books relating to medicine remain; and the Greek Strabo composed his geography.

Tiberius (14-37).—Augustus had adopted Tiberius, a son of his wife Livia by a former husband. He succeeded without difficulty. To occupy the turbulent legions on the frontier, Tiberius ordered Germanicus, who was both his nephew and his adopted son, to lead the army beyond the Rhine. They marched as far as the forest of Teutoberg, where the three legions of Varus had perished. At first the Germans nowhere made a stand. Growing bolder in the following campaign they ventured to meet the Roman army, and were defeated in the great battle of Idistavisus. A second battle was a second massacre, and Varus was avenged. Germanicus then returned to Gaul, where he found letters from Tiberius recalling him to Rome to

receive the consulship, and to undertake an important mission in Asia.

In Rome, Tiberius governed mildly, refusing the honors and temples offered to him. He disdained the base flattery of the senate as one who knew its value. To the provinces he sent able governors, did not increase taxation, and relieved the frequent distress. Twelve Asiatic cities, ruined by an earthquake, were exempted for five years from all dues. Tiberius practiced his maxim, "A good shepherd shears his sheep, but does not flay them."

In the East, Germanicus without drawing his sword humbled the Parthians, who allowed him to give the Armenian crown to a faithful vassal of the empire, and to reduce Cappadocia and the Comagene to provinces. On returning from a journey to Egypt he had violent disputes with Piso, governor of Syria. His death, which occurred some time afterward, was attributed to poison, and Piso's indecent joy seemed to designate him as the criminal. Piso to regain the government, which he had resigned rather than obey Germanicus, did not shrink from civil war. When defeated, he committed suicide. Tacitus intimates, without direct assertion, that Tiberius poisoned Germanicus and then caused Piso to disappear.

The first nine years of Tiberius' reign were prosperous. After the death of his son Drusus, everything changed. He had a favorite, Sejanus, who had once saved his life, whom he made prefect of the prætorian guard. Dazzled by success, Sejanus wished to mount higher still. He believed that he might reach the supreme power by overthrowing the sovereign and his children. His first victim was the emperor's own son, Drusus, whom he secretly poisoned. This death was a mortal blow to Tiberius. He felt himself alone and friendless. Naturally suspicious, he now everywhere beheld plots and intrigues. To foil real or imaginary conspirators he employed his power mercilessly. About this time, Tiberius, then sixty-nine years of age, quitted Rome never to return and withdrew to the delicious island of Capreæ, at the entrance of the Gulf of Naples

(26). Sejanus had become the intermediary between him and the empire. Inflaming the suspicions of the old man, he persuaded him to become the executioner of all his relatives, whom he represented as impatient heirs coveting their inheritance. Agrippina, the widow of Germanicus, was shut up in the island of Pandataria, where four years later she died of starvation. Of her three sons, Nero was put to death or killed himself; Drusus was thrown into prison, where he perished of hunger; the youth of Caius protected him against the fears of Tiberius.

The whole family of Germanicus being practically destroyed, Sejanus, drawing more closely to his goal, dared solicit the hand of Drusus' widow. This was almost equivalent to asking to be made the emperor's heir. His suit was refused. Hence he resolved to strike at the emperor himself and gained accomplices even in the palace. But Tiberius understood him. Craftily depriving him of his guard, he had him suddenly arrested in the open senate. The people tore his body to pieces, and numerous executions followed his death.

"The cruelty of Tiberius," says Suetonius, "knew no bounds when he learned that his son Drusus had died of poison. The place of execution is still shown at Capreæ. It is a rock, whence the condemned at a given signal were hurled into the sea." Close beside it rose the palaces, scenes of infamous orgies, as Tacitus asserts. Tiberius maintained peace along the frontiers, which were seldom disturbed. He died at the age of seventy-eight.

Caligula (37-41).—Rome hailed the accession of Caligula, son of Germanicus, with acclamations, and the new emperor at first justified all her hopes. Soon however, in consequence of an illness which seemed to have unsettled his reason, he entered upon a war against the gods, whom he blasphemed; against nature, whose laws he wished to violate, as in spanning the sea between Baiæ and Puteoli by a bridge; against the nobility of Rome, whom he decimated; and against the provinces, which he drained by his exactions. In less than two years he had squandered in mad extravagance sixty million dol-

lars, the savings of Tiberius. For four years the world endured this raving madman, who wished the Roman people had but one head that he might strike it off at a blow. At last he was killed by Chærea, a tribune of the prætorian cohorts.

Claudius (41-54).—Chærea was a republican. The occasion seemed favorable for the senate to again grasp the power. It made the attempt, and for three days one could imagine that he was in a republic. This did not suit the soldiers. In a recess of the palace they found Claudius, the brother of Germanicus, and carried him to their camp. He was then fifty years of age, a man of learning who wrote the history of the Etruscans and Carthaginians, but sickly and timid. His lack of resolution had the most deplorable results. The real masters of the empire were his wife, Messalina, and his freedmen, Polybius, Narcissus, and Pallas. Nevertheless they effected some wise reforms, made a seaport at Ostia, and drained Lake Fucinus.

Abroad, Mauritania and half of Britain were conquered, the Germans repressed, the Bosphorus held to its allegiance, Thrace, Lydia, and Judæa reduced to provinces, and the divisions among the Parthians encouraged. But nine or ten plots formed against the life of Claudius brought on terrible vengeance. Thirty-five senators and three hundred knights perished. Many were the victims of the hatred of Messalina, who in defiance of the emperor, the laws, and public decency contracted a second marriage before death or divorce had dissolved the first, and with the usual ceremonies espoused the senator Silius. The freedmen, alarmed for their own safety, wrested from Claudius an order of death, and replaced Messalina by Agrippina, a niece of the emperor, who acquired for herself hardly less notoriety. The new empress, desirous to secure for her son Nero, then eleven years of age, the heritage which rightfully belonged to the young Britannicus, the son of Claudius, surrounded the emperor with her creatures, appointed Burrus prefect of the prætorian guard, and Seneca tutor to Nero. Then by way of finishing the affair she poisoned Claudius.

Nero (54-68).—At his accession Claudius to assure the fidelity of the soldiers had given a donation of nearly eight hundred dollars to each prætorian and a proportionate sum to each legionary. This unfortunate innovation the army established as a law, and eventually it put the empire at auction to the highest bidder. Thus revolutions became more frequent. It was the interest of the soldiers to have the throne often vacant that they might the oftener receive the donation.

Nero began well. The first five years of his reign deserved praise. "How I wish that I did not know how to write!" he said one day, when a death sentence was presented for his signature. Seneca and Burrus worked in concert to restrain the fiery passions of their pupil, but Agrippina's ambition brought about the explosion. In league with the freedman Pallas, she intended that nothing should be done in the palace without her. Seneca and Burrus, in order to remove a domination which had debased Claudius, had the freedman disgraced. On Agrippina's threat to lead Britannicus to the prætorian camp, Nero poisoned his adopted brother (55). A little later he robbed Otho of his wife Poppæa, and, irritated by the reproaches of his mother, caused a vessel upon which she had embarked to sink on the open sea. As she saved herself by swimming, he sent soldiers to kill her. His wife Octavia and perhaps Burrus also suffered the same fate. The Romans beheld their emperor, the heir of Cæsar, drive chariots in the arena and on the stage recite verses to the accompaniment of the lyre! The burning of Rome in the year 64 cannot be imputed to him. But he made use of it as a pretext to persecute the Christians. Some of them, enveloped in the skins of beasts, were torn by dogs; others, smeared with pitch, were set on fire alive, and like torches lit up the gardens of Nero during a festival which he gave the populace. To pay for his extravagance he dealt exile and confiscation. At last a conspiracy of senators and knights was discovered. Seneca, his nephew, the poet Lucan, and the virtuous Thrasea were forced to open their own veins. This raving madman had the sickly vanity of inferior artists. To find

more worthy appreciation of his talents he made a journey to Greece, where he took part in all the games and collected many crowns, even at Olympia, although he fell in the middle of the stadium; but he paid for these plaudits by proclaiming the liberty of Greece (66).

Nevertheless the empire began to weary of obeying a bad singer, as he was called by Vindex, proprætor of Gaul, who offered the empire to Galba. Despite the death of Vindex the rebellion was successful and extended to Rome, whence Nero abandoned by all was forced to flee. He took refuge at the farm of one of his freedmen. When he saw himself about to be captured, he thrust a dagger into his throat, exclaiming, "What an artist the world is about to lose!" With him the race of the Cæsars became extinct. Since the time of the great Julius, however, it had been continued only through adoption.

Under Nero, Queen Boadicea in Britain rose against the Romans. Corbulo won victories over the Germans and Parthians. The reward of the skillful general was an order to commit suicide.

THE FLAVIANS

(69–96)

Galba, Otho, and Vitellius (68-69).—The prætorians demanded the rich donation which had been promised them in the name of Galba. "I choose my soldiers," he replied, "but I do not buy them." This haughty speech was not borne out by vigorous acts. Otho, a former friend of Nero, an ambitious man overwhelmed with debts, had no difficulty in stirring up the prætorians to massacre Galba.

But already the legions of the Rhine had at Cologne proclaimed their commander, Vitellius, emperor. They marched upon Italy, and near Cremona won a great battle in consequence of which Otho killed himself.

Vitellius was famous above all for his voracity. He permitted the soldiers to do everything and troubled himself about nothing except his pleasures, never dreaming that the Eastern legions might feel tempted to imitate what the Gallic legions had done for Galba, the prætorians for Otho, and the legions of the Rhine for himself. The profits of a revolution were now so certain that each army desired to secure them. Vespasian was then at the head of powerful forces, charged with subduing the rebellious Jews. His troops proclaimed him emperor. Leaving to his son Titus the task of besieging Jerusalem, he marched to take possession of Egypt and dispatched Mucianus to Italy. The latter was forestalled by Antonius Primus, who defeated the troops of Vitellius near Cremona and a few days later captured Rome. Vitellius, after suffering many outrages, was put to death.

Vespasian (69-79).—Flavius Vespasianus, the son of a tax collector, was of plain manners and had made his way by merit. He learned in Egypt of the successes of his generals and the death of his rival. But two wars were still going on. Titus conducted that against the Jews, which though fierce was not dangerous to the empire. The other, of far more serious nature, sprang from the rebellion of the Batavian Civilis. This man, a member of the Batavian royal family, had resolved to free his nation. He summoned the Gauls to independence and the Germans to the pillage of the provinces. The Gauls could not agree among themselves. Cerealis, one of Vespasian's generals, vanquished Civilis, who retired to his island, organized there a vigorous resistance, and finally obtained an honorable peace for the Batavi. They remained, not the tributaries but the allies of Rome, on condition of furnishing soldiers. While these events were taking place, Titus was repressing the revolt of the Jews. Roused to sedition by the extortions of their last governors, they had heroically recommenced the struggle of the Maccabees against foreign domination. They believed that the time was come for that Messiah whom their sacred books foretold. Refusing to recognize him in the holy victim of Golgotha,

they thought that he was about to manifest himself, glorious and mighty, amid the crash of arms. The insurrection had invaded Galilee, where the historian Josephus organized the rebellion. Vespasian and Titus confined it in the capital of Judæa. After a memorable siege Jerusalem fell. The Temple was burned, the plowshare passed over its ruins, and the dispersion of the Hebrew people began (70). Eleven hundred thousand Jews fell in this war.

While Vespasian's generals were rendering his arms triumphant, he himself at Rome was degrading unworthy senators and knights, improving the finances that Nero had left in a wretched state, restoring the Capitol which had been destroyed in a conflagration, constructing the immense Coliseum and the temple of peace, founding a library, and appointing teachers of rhetoric whom the state paid. Nevertheless Vespasian felt obliged to expel from Rome the Stoics, who ostentatiously displayed republican sentiments. Of serious mind, a man of business and method, Vespasian laughed at flatteries as at apotheosis. "I feel myself becoming a god," he said when he beheld his last hour approaching. But he tried to rise, saying, "An emperor should die on his feet."

Titus (79-81).—He was succeeded by Titus, who had distinguished himself in the German and British wars and especially in Judæa. Though his dissoluteness and violence had been feared, he surprised all by his self-control, and his gentle and affable manners won for him the surname of "Delight of the human race." He considered a day lost in which he had done no good action.

Frightful calamities attended his brief reign. A conflagration lasting three days devastated a part of Rome. Pestilence ravaged Italy. On November 1, 79, Vesuvius suddenly vomited forth masses of ashes and lava which buried Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabiæ. Pliny the naturalist, then commanding the fleet of Misenum, wished to behold this terrible phenomenon close by, and was either stifled by the ashes or crushed by the stones shot forth from the volcano. Titus reigned only seventeen months.

Domitian (81-96).—Domitian, his brother, was immediately proclaimed. In his first acts he showed firmness and justice, repressed all the abuses of which he could obtain information, and by his active watchfulness assured to the provinces an almost paternal government. The frontiers were well guarded and the barbarians held in check, including the Dacians, who were becoming formidable. But as his thirst for money grew with his fears, he soon became grasping and cruel. Informers multiplied and were followed by executions. His cousin Sabinus was put to death, because the crier who was to name him consul by mistake had called him emperor. Many rich persons on account of their wealth were accused of high treason.

A revolt of the governor of upper Germany increased his tyranny, because Domitian believed himself to be surrounded even in Rome by the accomplices of the rebel. Many senators perished. Some were accused of the new crime of "judaizing." Under this pretext his cousin Flavius Clemens and his own niece Domitilla were condemned. At last a plot was formed among the people of the palace, by whom he was murdered.

It was Domitian, however, who completed the conquest of the greater part of Britain. Vespasian had sent thither Agricola, the father-in-law of Tacitus, who pacified the island without, however, subduing the mountaineers of Caledonia. Only the south of Scotland was united to the province. To protect it against incursions from the north, Agricola raised a line of fortified posts between the firths of the Clyde and the Forth, and Roman civilization aided by numerous colonists speedily took possession of Britain.

THE ANTONINES

(96-192)

Nerva (96-98).—The Flavian family was extinct. The senate made haste to proclaim Nerva, a former consul. With this prince began a period of eighty years which has been called the golden age of humanity. It is the epoch of the Antonines. Though Nerva displayed good intentions, he had neither the strength nor the time to realize them. He adopted the Spanish Trajan, the best general of the empire.

Trajan (98-117).—When Nerva died, Trajan was at Cologne. Recognized as emperor by the senate, the people, and the armies, he remained one year more on the banks of the Rhine to pacify the frontiers and restore discipline. He wished to enter Rome on foot. The Empress Plotina followed his example. As she ascended the palace steps, she turned toward the crowd to say, "What I am on entering, I wish to be on departing." Trajan banished informers, diminished the taxes, and sold the numerous palaces which his predecessors had acquired by confiscations. In order to encourage the free population, he distributed among the cities of Italy revenues intended for the support of poor children. The senate could almost believe itself transported to the days of its ancient power, for it deliberated on serious affairs and really assigned the offices. Trajan even restored the elections to the comitia. At least the candidates presented themselves to solicit as in former days the votes of the people. He himself in Campus Martius canvassed in the midst of the crowd. The monuments which he raised had as their object public utility or the adornment of Rome, like the Trajan column which still recounts his exploits. Among his works the most important were the completion of a highway which traversed the whole Roman empire from the Pontus Euxinus to Gaul, and the restoration of the road thrown across the Pontine marshes. He caused the seaports of Ancona

and Civita-Vecchia to be excavated at his expense, established colonies in different places, either as military or commercial stations, and founded the Ulpian library, which became the richest in Rome. Only two reproaches can be brought against him; he had not the sobriety of Cato and he persecuted the Christians. He forbade their being hunted, but ordered that such as made themselves prominent should be beaten. He himself condemned Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, to be cast to the lions.

His reign was the most warlike which the empire had beheld. He directed in person an expedition against the Dacians (101), crossed the Danube at the head of 60,000 men, vanquished the barbarians in three battles, captured their capital, Sarmizegethusa, and forced them to sue for peace (103). The following year they rebelled again. Trajan threw over the river a stone bridge, the remains of which are still to be seen, several times entered Dacia, vanquished Decebalus, who killed himself, and reduced the country to a province. Numerous colonists were sent thither and flourishing cities rose. In consequence the Roumanian nation still speaks on the banks of the Danube a dialect which is almost the language of the contemporaries of Trajan.

In the East he reduced Armenia to a province. The kings of Colchis and Iberia promised entire obedience, and the Albanians of the Caspian accepted the ruler whom he gave them. One of his lieutenants, Cornelius Palma, had already subjugated some of the Arabs. Trajan penetrated into Mesopotamia, captured Ctesiphon, Seleucia, and Susa, and descended as far as the Persian Gulf. "If I were younger," said he, "I would go and subdue the Indies." Such rapid conquests could not be durable. The vanquished rose as soon as the emperor departed and the Jews again revolted everywhere. Blood flowed in streams. Trajan had not even the consolation of seeing the end of this formidable insurrection. He died at Selinus in Cilicia.

Hadrian (117-138).—Hadrian abandoned the useless conquests of his predecessors in the East. To prevent the inroads of the Caledonian mountaineers into Britain, he constructed from the mouth of the Tyne to the Sol-

way Firth the wall of the Picts, numerous remains of which are still to be seen. His only war was a fierce one against the Jews. He changed the name of the city of David to Ælia Capitolina, erected there altars to all the gods, and forbade the Jews to observe the bloody rite of circumcision. Thus they were now threatened with the loss of their religious, as they had lost already their political, existence. At the call of the doctor Akiba they once more appealed to the verdict of arms under the leadership of Barkochba, the Son of the Star, who claimed to be the long-expected Messiah. Nearly 600,000 Jews perished and the survivors were sold.

Hadrian's internal administration was sagacious. He relieved the provinces from those arrears of debt which had accumulated during sixteen years, and did away with the republican forms which since the time of Augustus had perpetuated the false image of Roman liberty. He divided the offices into those of the state, palace, and army, the civil magistracies holding the highest rank and the military the lowest. For the transaction of business he established four chanceries, and invested the prætorian prefects with both civil and military authority. So they formed a sort of upper ministry. And lastly Salvius Julianus by command of the emperor formed a sort of code from existing edicts which, under the name of perpetual edict, acquired the force of law (131).

The army, like the palace and the higher administration of the government, was subjected to a severe reform. Hadrian made many regulations which have survived him, touching discipline, drill, and the age at which a man became eligible to the different grades. He visited all the provinces one after the other, most of the time on foot, accompanied only by a few lawyers and artists. A number of cities were enriched by him with splendid monuments, as Nîmes, where he probably erected the amphitheater in honor of Plotina; Athens, where he passed two winters; Alexandria; and Rome, which owes to him the castle of San Angelo (Moles Hadriani), and the bridge which connects the two banks. He encouraged commerce and industry, and rendered

the slaves amenable to the courts alone, and not to the caprice of their masters.

The good deeds of this prince make us forget his shameful morals, which however were those of his age, the influence exercised over him by Antinous, of whom he eventually made a god, and certain acts of excessive severity. In the early days of his reign, the senate executed four men of consular rank accused of conspiracy without even awaiting his orders. Toward the end of his life, after his successive adoption of Verus and Antoninus, plots real or imaginary began again and many senators were sacrificed. He died at Baiæ.

Antoninus (138-161).—Antoninus, a native of Nîmes, had been adopted by Hadrian on condition that he in turn would adopt Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. He reigned twenty-three years in profound peace, and received from his grateful contemporaries the surname of "Father of the human race." A wise economy in the administration of the finances enabled him to found useful institutions and to assist cities afflicted with some calamity, like Rome, Antioch, Narbonne, and Rhodes, which had been ruined by fire and earthquake. "The wealth of a prince," he said, "is public happiness." Two conspiracies against him were discovered. Only their chiefs perished. A defense of Christianity composed by the philosopher Justinus obtained for the Christians, who were already numerous in Rome and in the provinces, toleration from the emperor and the magistrates. Antoninus carried on no important war, nothing more than petty expeditions for the maintenance of order on the frontiers.

Marcus Aurelius (161-180).—Marcus Aurelius, surnamed the Philosopher, undertook to continue the administration of his three predecessors. He had shared the title of Augustus with Verus, his son-in-law and adopted brother. He sent him to the East during a crisis, but Verus concerned himself at Antioch only with his debauches, and left the skillful Avidius Cassius to capture Ctesiphon and Seleucia. A terrible pestilence raged at Rome; earthquakes devastated the empire; the German tribes on the Danube rose in revolt. The Stoic

philosopher who occupied the throne did not allow himself to be alarmed, and amid the perils of the war against the Marcomanni wrote the admirable maxims of Stoic wisdom contained in the twelve books of his work entitled *Meditations.*

Almost all the barbarian world was in commotion. The Sarmatian Roxolani, the Vandals, and other tribes of whom we know only the names, crossed the Danube and penetrated even to the neighborhood of Aquileia. The two emperors marched against them, and the barbarians retreated without giving battle so as to secure their booty. A certain number even accepted the lands which Marcus Aurelius gave them, or enrolled among the auxiliaries of the legions. Verus died on his return from this expedition. The as yet unconquered Germans appeared once more under the walls of Aquileia. In order to obtain the money required for this war, Marcus Aurelius sold the treasures and jewels of the imperial palace. He was obliged to arm the slaves and gladiators and enroll the barbarians (172). The enemy retreated. The emperor pursued the Quadi even to their own country, where on the banks of the Gran he incurred a serious danger. A storm accompanied by thunder and lightning saved him, and gave rise to the tradition of the Christian legion that hurled thunderbolts. A treaty of peace with many nations apparently gave a glorious termination to this war. From the banks of the Danube, Marcus Aurelius hurried to Syria to suppress the revolt of Cassius, who was killed by his soldiers. Almost immediately the Marcomanni, the Bastarnæ, and the Goths resumed their incursions. The unhappy emperor, whom fate condemned to pass his life in the camp, hastened to march against them with his son Commodus. He died without having finished the war at Vindobona, now Vienna.

Commodus (180-192).—Commodus, aged nineteen years, concluded a hasty peace with the Marcomanni and the Quadi, took 20,000 of those barbarians into the service of the empire, and returned to Rome to contend more than 700 times in the arena, to drive chariots and play the part of Hercules. Perennis, the prefect of

the guards on whom at first devolved the cares of government, was massacred in 186. He was replaced, both as prætorian prefect and imperial favorite, by the freedman Cleander, a Phrygian, who made money out of the life and honor of the citizens. Three years later the cruel and avaricious favorite was killed in a popular sedition which plague and famine had excited. Then Commodus launched sentences of death against the most virtuous citizens, against his relatives, against the senate, even against the great jurisconsult Salvius Julianus, and allowed the prætorians the utmost license. As those nearest to him were the most endangered, it was their hand which smote him. His concubine Marcia, the chamberlain Electus, and the prefect of the guards Lætus, whom he intended to put to death, had him strangled by an athlete.

MILITARY ANARCHY

(192-285)

Pertinax and Didius Julianus (192-193).—Pertinax, prefect of the city, proclaimed emperor by the murderers of Commodus, was recognized by the senate and the prætorians, but, when he tried to restore order in the state and the finances, he displeased the soldiers, who murdered him in his palace. Then began scenes without a name, and happily without example. The soldiers literally put the empire up at auction. Two purchasers presented themselves, who rivaled each other in promises. The monarchy of Augustus was adjudged to the aged ex-consul, Didius Julianus, at 6250 drachmas for each soldier. The sale finished, the prætorians in battle array conducted Didius to the palace, and the senators accepted the man whom the soldiers had elected. He had promised more than he could perform. The creditors, implacable toward their imprudent debtor, would no doubt have overthrown him themselves, had they not

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been forestalled by the legions of the frontiers, who also wished to bestow the empire. The British legions proclaimed their chief Albinus; the Syrians, Pescennius Niger; the Albanians, the African Septimius Severus. The latter being the nearest to Rome immediately set out for the capital. The senate, encouraged by his approach, declared Didius a public enemy, had him slain, punished the murderers of Pertinax, and recognized Severus as emperor.

Septimius Severus (193-211).—He broke the power of the prætorians; but, instead of abolishing that turbulent guard, he contented himself with certain changes and even rendered it more numerous. In Asia Minor he defeated Niger, who was killed while about to flee to the Parthians (194). Near Lyons he overthrew Albinus (197), whose head he sent to the senate with a threatening letter. On his return to Rome, he multiplied the executions. Forty-one senatorial families became extinct under the headsman's axe.

To extenuate his cruelties by a little glory, he endeavored to seize Seleucia and Ctesiphon from the Parthians, who had made an alliance with Niger. On his return he ordered a persecution against the Christians, in spite of the eloquent apologies of Tertullian and Minutius Felix. Severus administered the finances with economy. After his death corn sufficient for seven years was found in the granaries at Rome. "Keep the soldiers contented," he said to his children, "and do not trouble yourselves about the rest. With them you can repulse the barbarians and repress the people." Military discipline was strictly maintained, but at the same time the soldiers obtained privileges and increase of pay. After a few quiet years Severus was called to Britain by a revolt which he had no difficulty in quelling. He penetrated a great distance into the Caledonian mountains, but incessantly harassed and worn out by continual attacks which cost him as many as 50,000 men, he returned to the policy of Antoninus, and constructed a wall from one shore to the other along the line traced by Agricola.

During this expedition he had been constantly ill.

Nevertheless his son Bassianus, called Caracalla from the name of a Gallic garment which he was fond of wearing, could not wait for his approaching end, and tried to assassinate him. From that time the emperor's malady increased. He expired with the words: "I have been everything, and everything is nothing." He left two sons, Caracalla and Geta.

Caracalla (211-217).—The two princes had already disturbed the palace by their quarrels. On his return to Rome Caracalla stabbed his brother in the arms of their mother. Papinianus, refusing to make a public defense of the fratricide, was put to death and with him perished 20,000 partisans of Geta. Caracalla made his cruelty felt in all the provinces. A centurion, who had an injury to revenge, killed him.

Macrinus (217).—The army elected the prefect of the guards Macrinus, who, after a sanguinary battle with the Parthians in Mesopotamia, purchased peace at the price of 50,000,000 denarii; but the severe measures which he took for the restoration of discipline destroyed his popularity. The soldiers mutinied in their camp, proclaimed Bassianus, the young and handsome high priest of Emesa, and massacred Macrinus.

Heliogabalus (218-222).—Bassianus, better known as Heliogabalus from the Syrian god whose priest he was, brought to Rome the most shameful passions of the East. His luxury and depravity would have made Nero blush. He formed for himself a senate of women and, like the great king, wished to be adored. His palace was strewed with gold and silver dust, and his fish ponds filled with rose water in which to bathe. The soldiers were soon horrified at this unnatural emperor, who attired himself in women's clothes. They killed him, together with his mother Sœmis, and saluted as emperor his cousin Alexander, aged fourteen, who remained under the guidance of his grandmother Mæsa and his mother Mamæa.

Alexander Severus (222-235).—The two empresses devoted themselves to developing the natural virtues of the young prince. They gave him as ministers the lawyers Paulus and Ulpianus and formed for him a council of twelve senators. The empire passed many peaceful

years under his reign. On the front of his palace these words, the foundation of all social morality, were carved: "Do unto others as thou wouldest have them do unto thee." Nevertheless his hand was not firm enough to maintain discipline among the soldiers. One day they slew their prefect Ulpianus under his very eyes.

The ruin of the Parthian kingdom and the foundation of a second Persian empire by the Sassanide Artaxerxes in 226 occasioned a war on the Euphrates. The new monarch, who restored to the Persian mountaineers the domination which the Parthians had wrested from them, declared himself of the ancient royal race, and claimed all the provinces which Darius had formerly possessed. Alexander replied by attacking the Persians. The expedition was fully successful. The news that the Germans had invaded Gaul and Illyricum hastened his return. He hurried to the Rhine and was there killed in a sedition.

Six Emperors in Nine Years (235-244).—The soldiers proclaimed Maximinus, a Thracian Goth, who in his youth had been a shepherd. He was a giant, eight feet tall. He is said to have eaten daily thirty pounds of meat and to have drunk an amphora of wine. This barbarian, who did not dare even once to come to Rome, treated the empire like a conquered country, pillaging cities and temples alike. Mankind soon tired of him. Despite their entreaties, the proconsul of Africa, Gordianus I, and his son, Gordianus II, who boasted their descent from the Gracchi and Trajan, were proclaimed emperors. Recognized by the senate but overthrown, the senate afterwards itself proclaimed Pupienus and Balbinus. The people demanded that a son of the younger Gordianus should be declared emperor. As for Maximinus, he and his son were assassinated before Aquileia, which he was besieging, and a little later the senate's two emperors were massacred in their palaces. Then the prætorians proclaimed Gordianus III. He was only thirteen years of age. Misitheus, his tutor and father-in-law, governed wisely in his name, but the death of the clever counsellor enabled the Arab Philip to

become prefect of the prætorian guard. He slew the emperor and took his place.

During the reign of Gordianus the Franks are mentioned for the first time. They were a confederation of Germanic tribes on the lower Rhine, like that of the Alemanni on the upper Rhine. The latter constantly threatened Rhætia and even Gaul itself, whose northern provinces the former invaded. At the other extremity of Germany, the Goths had gradually descended from Scandinavia upon the lower Danube and the Black Sea. They were for the time being the empire's most dangerous neighbors.

Philip (244-249). **Decius** (249-251). **The Thirty Tyrants** (251-268).—At the end of five years the soldiers decided that Philip had reigned long enough and revolts broke out everywhere. Meanwhile the Goths crossed the Danube, and the senator Decius, whom he sent against them, was proclaimed by the troops. A battle was fought near Verona and Philip was killed. The quiet enjoyed by the Church during Philip's reign has led to the erroneous belief that he was a Christian. Decius, on the contrary, persecuted it cruelly. However, he reigned only two years and perished in a great battle with the Goths in Mœsia (251).

The army acknowledged Galbus, one of its generals, who promised the barbarians an annual tribute. This had the effect of inducing them to return. Æmilianus, who routed them, assumed the purple. Both were killed by their soldiers (253). Valerian, saluted as emperor, named his son Gallienus as Cæsar and endeavored to arrest the imminent dissolution of the empire. In 258 he recaptured from the Parthians the great city of Antioch and penetrated into Mesopotamia; but near Edessa he was vanquished and made prisoner by King Sapor (260), who retained him in captivity exposed to insults until he died. Sapor had reëntered Syria. He was forced back across the Euphrates by the prætorian prefect Balista and the Arab chief Odenath. The latter grew powerful enough to secure recognition as Augustus by Gallienus (264). Palmyra his capital, situated in an oasis at three days' distance from the Euphrates, had

become rich and powerful through its immense commerce. Imposing ruins still testify to its past greatness.

After the captivity of his father Gallienus ruled alone for eight years. His reign was one ceaseless struggle against the usurpers, barbarians, and calamities of all sorts that descended upon the empire. This period is called that of the Thirty Tyrants. There were in reality only nineteen or twenty, all of whom died violent deaths like Saturnus, who said to his soldiers, "Comrades, you are losing a good general and making a wretched emperor," and who was slain because of his severity. Odenath, a valiant prince, delivered the East from the Persians and the Goths, who had disembarked in Asia Minor, but was himself assassinated in 267 by his nephew. Zenobia, his wife, slew the murderer and succeeded to her husband's power. Gaul was independent for fourteen years under five Gallic emperors. To internal disorder had been added barbarian invasions. The Goths and the Heruli had ravaged Greece and Asia Minor. One Goth wished to burn the library at Athens, but another prevented him. "Leave to our enemies," said he, "these books which deprive them of the love of arms." The Athenians however, led by the historian Dexippus, had the honor of defeating these brigands.

Claudius (268). **Aurelian** (270). **Tacitus** (275). **Probus** (275). **Carus** (282).—Gallienus, who alone appeared legitimate among all these usurpers, was mortally wounded by traitors while besieging one of his competitors in Milan. As he expired, he chose for his successor a Dalmatian, Claudius, who was then the most renowned general of the empire. Claudius had only time for a hurried march to Macedon, where he defeated 300,000 Goths near Naissus, and there died of the pest. Aurelian took his place (270). He had first to check an invasion of the Alemanni, who penetrated through Rhætia as far as Placentia, where they destroyed a Roman army, and thence as far as the shores of the Adriatic. Rome was terror-stricken. The senate consulted the Sibylline books and in obedience to their responses sacrificed human victims. A victory gained on the banks of the Metaurus delivered Italy; but the dan-

ger which Rome had incurred determined the emperor to surround it with a strong wall. He was less fortunate against the Goths. A treaty abandoned to them Dacia, whose inhabitants he transported into Mœsia. The Danube again became the boundary of the empire.

Tranquillity reëstablished on that frontier, he marched to the East (273) to encounter Zenobia, queen of Palmyra. This princess, celebrated for her courage and her rare intelligence, dreamed of forming a vast Oriental empire. He wrested from her Syria, Egypt, and a part of Asia Minor, defeated her near Antioch and Emesa, and besieged her in Palmyra, her capital, where she had taken refuge. When the resources of the city were exhausted, Zenobia fled on a dromedary toward the Euphrates but was captured and taken to Aurelian. Her principal minister, the sophist Longinus, whose treatise on the *Sublime* we still possess, was suspected of being the author of an offensive letter sent by Zenobia to Aurelian and was put to death. The emperor reserved the queen to adorn his triumph and afterward assigned her a splendid villa at Tibur. In the West, Tetricus, who had usurped Gaul, Spain, and Britain, himself betrayed his army and passed over to the side of Aurelian, who appointed him governor of Lucania.

Delivered from foreign troubles Aurelian tried to restore order in the administration and discipline in the army. Desirous of occupying the restless minds of the legions he was preparing an expedition against the Persians, when his secretary, accused of extortion and afraid of punishment, had him assassinated (275). The soldiers, ashamed of having permitted the murder of their glorious chieftain, forced the senate to choose an emperor. It appointed the aged Tacitus, who died after six months.

The soldiers then proclaimed Probus, who immediately hastened to Gaul, which had been invaded by the Alemanni. He recaptured sixty towns, followed the enemy across the Rhine, and pursued them beyond the Neckar. The Germans delivered to him 16,000 of their young warriors, whom he enrolled, though dispersing them among his troops. In Illyricum he routed the

Sarmatæ; in Thrace the Getæ; in Asia Minor the brigands of Isauria and Pamphylia; in Egypt the Blemyes, who had seized Coptos. Narses, king of Persia, alarmed by these successes, sued for peace. On his return through Thrace Probus established on the lands of the empire 100,000 Bastarnæ, just as he had already established Germans in Britain and Franks on the shores of the Pontus Euxinus. He was preparing to march against the Persians when the hard labor which he imposed upon his soldiers, compelling them to plant vineyards and drain marshes, caused a revolt in which he perished (282). The next day the soldiers mourned him. They chose the prefect of the guards, Carus, who bestowed the title of Cæsar on his two sons, Carinus and Numerianus. The elder received the government of the West. The younger after a victory over the Goths and Sarmatæ followed his father to the East. Carus captured Seleucia and Ctesiphon but died suddenly, and Numerianus hastened to treat with the Persians. As he was leading the legions back to the Bosphorus, he was killed by his father-in-law Arrius Aper (284). Five days later under the walls of Chalcedon the soldiers proclaimed the Dalmatian Diocletian, who slew Aper with his own hand before the eyes of the whole army. Carinus endeavored to overthrow the new emperor, but he was slain in battle near Margus in Mœsia (285).

DIOCLETIAN AND CONSTANTINE. CHRISTIANITY

(285-337)

Diocletian (285-305). **The Tetrarchy.**—Forty-five emperors had already worn the purple. Of this number twenty-nine, not to mention the thirty tyrants, had been assassinated. Four or five others had perished by violence. Only eleven or twelve had met natural deaths. Such was the organization of supreme power in the Roman Empire!

Diocletian imposed upon himself the double task of re-establishing order at home and security on the frontiers. While the tyranny of the governors of Gaul drove the peasants of that province to revolt, the Alemanni crossed the Danube and ravaged Rhætia; the Saxons pillaged the coasts of Britain and Gaul; the Franks went as far as Sicily to plunder Syracuse, and Carausius, on being ordered to arrest those pirates, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in Britain (287). Alarmed at this critical situation Diocletian took as colleague Maximianus, one of his former comrades in arms (285), who assumed the surname of Herculius as Diocletian had assumed that of Jovius. Disorder and invasion threatening everywhere, the two Augusti associated with themselves two inferior rulers, the Cæsars Galerius and Constantius Chlorus (293).

In the partition of the empire Diocletian kept the East and Thrace; Galerius had the Danubian provinces; Maximianus Italy, Africa, and Spain, with Mauritania; Constantius Gaul and Britain. The ordinances issued by each prince were valid in the provinces of his colleagues. Diocletian remained the supreme head of the state and by his skill and conciliatory spirit maintained harmony among princes who were already rivals. He was the first Roman emperor to surround the throne with all the pomp of an Asiatic court. He adopted a diadem, clothed himself in silk and gold, and compelled all, who obtained permission to approach, to adore on their knees the imperial divinity and majesty. He began to establish that regulated hierarchy so necessary in a monarchical administration to protect the prince from military revolutions, and also that despotism of the court, that seraglio government, which slays public spirit and makes service rendered to the person of the prince more esteemed than service rendered to the state. But successful wars justified the measures of Diocletian.

In the East, the Persians had driven a partisan of the Romans from the Armenian throne and were threatening Syria. Galerius marched against them. A defeat which he suffered was gloriously redeemed, and Narses ceded Mesopotamia, five provinces beyond the Tigris, and the

suzerainty of Armenia and Iberia at the foot of the Caucasus (297). This was the most glorious treaty which the empire had yet signed. Diocletian erected numerous fortifications there to preserve the conquest. At the other extremity of the Roman world, Constantius, after having expelled the Franks from Gaul and Batavia, made a descent on Britain and vanquished the usurper Alectus (296), who had succeeded Carausius.

Tranquillity having been everywhere restored, Diocletian sowed discord among the barbarians. He armed Goths and Vandals, Gepidæ and Burgundiones, against each other. Then he repaired all the fortifications on the frontiers and constructed new posts. In these few years the empire regained a formidable footing. These successes were celebrated by a splendid triumph, the last which Rome beheld (303).

Unfortunately Diocletian was persuaded by Galerius to order a cruel persecution of the Church. A conflagration, which burst out in the imperial palace and with which the Christians were charged, increased his wrath. Throughout the empire, except in the provinces where Constantius Chlorus reigned, the victims were hunted down and tortured.

Shortly afterward Diocletian grew weary of power and abdicated at Nicomedia. Maximianus unwillingly followed his example and laid down the diadem the same day at Milan. The former chief of the Roman world retired to a magnificent villa, which he had built near Salona on the Dalmatian coast, and passed his old age in peaceful pursuits. One day when Maximianus was urging him to reascend the throne, he replied: "If you could only see the splendid vegetables which I raise myself, you would not talk to me of such worries." He died there in 313. The ruins of his palace are still to be seen.

New Emperors and New Civil Wars (303-323).—Galerius and Constantius assumed the title of Augustus and chose two new Cæsars. These were Maximinus, who received the government of Syria and Egypt, and Severus, who had Italy and Africa and who became Augustus after the death of Constantius. Constantine, the

son of this last prince, whom a brilliant destiny awaited, succeeded his father with the title of Cæsar.

The scheme of Diocletian, apparently so cleverly contrived to prevent usurpation by sharing the power in advance with a few ambitious men and rendering the supreme authority almost everywhere present, was in reality impracticable. This empire, so vast and now so menaced, could be held together for a moment by a firm and experienced hand like that of Constantine or Diocletian, but ultimate dismemberment was sure. Rome herself gave the signal for new wars. Incensed at the desertion in which the new emperors left her, she bestowed the title of Augustus upon Maxentius, son of Maximianus (306), who took his father as his colleague. Thus the empire had six masters at once: the two Augusti, Galerius and Severus; the two Cæsars, Constantine and Maximinus; and the two usurpers, Maxentius and Maximianus. Severus was the first to fall, vanquished and slain by Maximianus. The latter was the next to disappear, banished by his son and put to death by his son-in-law Constantine, whom he was attempting to overthrow (310). In the following year Galerius died in consequence of his debauches. Maxentius succumbed in turn to the blows of his brother-in-law, Constantine, near the Milvian Bridge which spans the Tiber. For this expedition Constantine had gained the support of Christianity by placing the cross upon his standards (312).

Licinius, the successor of Galerius, had at the same time vanquished Maximinus, who took poison (313). Thus the empire had now only two masters, Licinius in the East and Constantine in the West. This was one too many for these ambitious and perfidious princes, who sought each other's destruction. Licinius fomented a conspiracy against his rival. The latter in reply declared war, defeated his enemy, and imposed upon him an onerous peace.

This peace lasted nine years, during which Constantine introduced order into the administration and gained glory and power by a victory over the Goths, 40,000 of whom entered his service under the name of Fœderati.

Under pretext of protecting the Christians, Constantine attacked his colleague and took him prisoner after two victories. He stripped him of the purple, promising that he would respect his life, but some time afterward put him to death (323).

Christianity.—Pagan morality had risen to a great height with Seneca, Lucan, Persius, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius. The activity of the philosophers had some effect upon the intellect. But the brilliancy with which certain intellects still shine in our eyes prevents our seeing the state of spiritual infancy in which the greater part of the human race then lay. For it the fairest doctrines wrought by human reason remained without effect, because they were not sustained by creeds born of faith alone. The philosophers talked grandly of their scorn for fortune, pain, and death; but they knew little concerning the life to come or the pains and rewards in store. Their haughty virtue suited hopeless wise men, like some of those Roman nobles who, having lost the dignity of the citizen, had taken refuge in the dignity of the man. For the masses such marvels were required as impress the imagination and impose certainty without being understood.

Credo quia absurdum, Tertullian says. Religion alone can provide those beliefs with which reason has nothing to do. Placed between Egypt and Persia, that is to say, between the two countries which have professed the most ardent faith in a life to come, Judæa had finally added to the grand Semitic idea of divine unity the idea of the resurrection and of the judgment of the dead. The simple purity of the parables of Jesus, his invincible faith in God and in his justice, his teaching, which devoted itself to ardent charity for all the suffering and wretched, went to the heart of the lower classes. Meanwhile the Fathers and the Doctors, constructing with Platonic ideas the most rational and hence the most philosophical system of metaphysics which the world had ever known, won gifted minds to the cause of the new Gospel.

Jesus was born five years before our era in the town of Bethlehem in the midst of Jews who, overwhelmed

with misery, awaited the advent of the Messiah promised by their prophets. In the fifteenth year of Tiberius he began to journey throughout Judæa, teaching love of God and man, purity and justice, the reward of the good and the punishment of the bad. The Pharisees, the strict sectaries of the Mosaic law, caused the holy victim of humanity to be condemned and nailed to the cross. After the Passion the apostles dispersed among the provinces, where many Jewish colonies had been established. The Church welcomed a multitude of pagans who were disgusted with their marble gods and many slaves and miserable people, who at last heard a human voice whisper in their ears words of consolation and hope. In the time of Nero there were already enough Christians in Rome to excite persecution. Some suffered under Domitian. A larger number were condemned under Trajan. That emperor forbade search being made after them but, applying the ancient decrees of the senate, he punished whoever were convicted of holding secret meetings or of showing contempt for imperial authority by refusing to sacrifice to the gods, the worship of whom the emperor as pontifex maximus was bound to protect.

Nevertheless as the Church grew her doctrines became better known. The pagans set up in opposition the pretended miracles of Vespasian and of Apollonius of Tyana, philosopher and wonder-worker. They also tried to purify paganism, thereby rendering it less unworthy of contending with the religion of Christ. They introduced into their worship mysterious forms, such as initiations and expiations, calculated to impress the popular imagination. These innovations did not succeed in preventing men from embracing a doctrine which was both more simple and mild. Christianity encountered another danger. Like philosophy it had its different schools or heresies. The four Gospels, the Epistles, the Apostles' Creed, maintained union, and Aristides and Justin presented to Hadrian and Antoninus two Apologies, which gained for the believers a little repose. But the sophists induced Marcus Aurelius to decree fresh persecutions in which Justin, Polycarp, and many others

were martyred. The Christians were generally tranquil until Severus, a rude disciplinarian, took alarm at their secret assemblies and ordered a persecution (199-204) to which the sympathetic tolerance of Alexander Severus put a stop. Under Decius the calamities of the empire were attributed to the wrath of the gods on account of Christianity, and the last persecution, that of Diocletian or rather of Galerius, deserved to be called the era of martyrdom (303-312). It was all the more severe because the Christians were then very numerous in the empire. Constantine determined to make himself the head of this increasing party, and to this resolution owed his victory.

In his expedition against Maxentius (312) he declared himself the protector of the new faith. The following year he published at Milan an edict of toleration. As long as Licinius lived Constantine used discretion with the pagans. Beginning with the year 321 he granted the Church the right to receive donations and legacies. He repaid the assistance which it had afforded him against his last rival by lavishing upon it at the expense of the state property which he guaranteed to it in perpetual possession. He transferred to the Christian priests all the privileges which the pontiffs of paganism enjoyed, that is to say, the right of asylum for their temples, and for themselves exemption from public service, statute labor, and imposts. Even the humblest ecclesiastic could not be put to torture, and rest on Sunday was prescribed, a great boon to the slaves.

To multiply conversions he made it plain in what quarter imperial favors were to be found, bestowing offices on Christians and privileges on the cities which overturned the pagan altars. On the other hand he tried to destroy paganism by frequent exhortations to his peoples, and afterward when triumphant Christianity no longer feared dangerous tumults, by severe ordinances which in many places closed the temples and overthrew the idols, without however shedding the blood of those who remained attached to the ancient worship. The Council of Nicæa, convoked by Constantine in 323, finally drew up the creed of Christianity. When it had dis-

persed, the emperor wrote to all the churches "that they were to conform to the will of God as expressed by the Council."

Reorganization of the Imperial Administration.—The revolution had been accomplished in the religious order. He completed it in the political order. Diocletian had only outlined the organization which was destined to put an end to military revolutions. Constantine resumed this enterprise. The first thing he did was to abandon Rome, still filled with her gods with whom he wished nothing to do, and to found another capital on the banks of the Bosphorus between Europe and Asia. Constantinople rose upon the site of Byzantium, far enough from the eastern frontiers to have small fear of hostile attack, while sufficiently near them to assure their being better watched and defended. The site was so well chosen that for ten centuries every invasion passed her by. In 330 Constantine inaugurated the new city as capital of the empire. He established a senate, tribes, and curiæ. He erected a Capitol, consecrated not to the Olympian gods, now dethroned and dead, but to learning. He built palaces, aqueducts, baths, porticoes, and eleven churches. It was like Rome a seven-hilled city and divided into fourteen regions. Gratuitous distributions of corn were made. Egypt sent thither her grain and the provinces their statues and finest monuments. Rome, abandoned by her emperor and by her wealthiest families, who went away to establish themselves near the court, "gradually became isolated in the center of the empire; and, while fighting went on around her, sat in the shadow of her name awaiting her ruin."

The empire was divided into four prefectures and these again into thirteen dioceses. The enormous size of the provinces had often inspired their governors with the idea of mounting higher, even to the imperial power. So the twenty provinces of Augustus were cut up into the 116 provinces of Constantine. A numerous body of administrators, graded in a lengthy hierarchy, was interposed between the people and the emperor, whose will, transmitted by the ministers to the prætorian prefects, passed from the latter to the presidents of the

dioceses and descended through the provincial governors to the cities. At the head of this hierarchy seven great officers formed the imperial ministry: the Count of the Sacred Chamber or Grand Chamberlain; the Master of Offices or Minister of State, who directed the household of the emperor and the police of the empire; the Quæstor of the Palace, a sort of Chancellor; the Count of the Sacred Largesses or Minister of Finance; the Count of the Private Domain; the Count of the Domestic Cavalry; and the Count of the Domestic Infantry. The two latter were chiefs of the emperor's guards. Add to these officials the throng of inferior agents who encumbered the palace and were more numerous, says Libanius, than the swarming flies in summer.

The four prætorian prefects of the East, Illyricum, Italy, and Gaul had no longer any military command, but they published the emperor's decrees, made assessments, superintended the collection of taxes, and sat as appellate judges over the chiefs of the dioceses. Their rich appointments and their numerous staff made them resemble four kings of secondary rank commanding the governors of the dioceses and of the provinces. The Masters of Cavalry and Infantry had under their orders the Military Counts of the provinces.

Diocletian had already surrounded himself with the splendor of the Asiatic courts in order to exalt the majesty of the prince. Constantine imitated his example. The posts of the imperial court conferred upon those invested with them titles of personal but not transmissible nobility. The consuls, the prefects, and the seven ministers were called the illustres; the proconsuls, the vicars, the counts, and the dukes were spectabiles; the former consuls and the presidents were clarissimi. There were also perfectissimi and egregii. The princes of the imperial house bore the title of nobilissimi.

This divine hierarchy, as in official language the army of functionaries surrounding and concealing the sacred person of the emperor was called, added to the brilliancy of the court without increasing the strength of the government. Salaries were required for this immense staff, who took much greater pains to please the prince than

to labor for the public good. The expenses of administration increased and taxes increased with them while poverty was already draining the richest provinces. Then between the treasury and the taxpayer began a war of ruse and violence, which fretted the people and extinguished the last remnants of patriotism.

The free institutions of former days still lived in the municipal system of government. Each city had its own senate or curia, composed of curiales or proprietors of at least fifteen acres of land, who deliberated on municipal matters and from their own number elected magistrates to administer affairs. It had also its duumvirs who presided over the curia, watched over the interests of the city, and judged law cases of minor importance; an ædile; a curator or steward; a tax collector; irenarchs or police commissioners; scribes and notaries. Beginning with the Emperor Valentinian I each had a defensor, or sort of tribune, elected by the city to defend its interests with the governor or prince.

But the curiales, charged with collecting the tax, guaranteed its payment with their own property. Thus their condition became more and more wretched. They sought escape by taking refuge in the privileged bodies of the clergy or army, but were thrust back by force into the curia, where at their death their sons were to take their place. Their exemption from torture and from certain ignominious penalties was only slight compensation. Thus the number of the curiales was already diminishing in the cities.

The imposts for which they were responsible were very heavy. In the first place there was the indiction or land-tax, which was assessed according to the fortune of each person as indicated in the register drawn up every fifteen years or cycle of indictions; then the twentieth of inheritances; the hundredth of the proceeds of auction sales; the poll-tax, paid by non-landholders and for slaves; the customs dues; and lastly the chrysargyron, levied every four years on petty commerce and petty industry. The aurum coronarium, formerly voluntary when the cities sent crowns of gold to consuls or emperors, had become an obligatory tax.

These charges pressed all the heavier on small or moderate fortunes since they fell upon the rich lightly or not at all. The nobilissimi, the patricii, the illustres, the spectabiles, the clarissimi, the egregii, all the staff of the palace, all the courtiers and the clergy, were exempt from the heaviest of the imposts, which fell wholly upon the curiales. The third class, that of simple freemen comprising those who owned less than fifteen acres, the merchants, and artisans, were no less unfortunate. The corporations which the artisans of the cities had formed had, especially since the time of Alexander Severus, become prisons from which exit was prohibited. While destroying industry, the government supposed it could in this way force men to labor. In the rural districts the petty proprietors, despoiled by the violence and craft of the great or by the invasions of the barbarians, were reduced to becoming the dependents of the rich. Thus attached to the soil, they were deprived of the greater part of the rights though not of the name of freemen. The slaves alone gained in the midst of all these miseries. Stoic philosophy and afterwards Christianity had somewhat humanized ideas and laws concerning them. At last they were regarded as men. They were authorized to dispose more freely of their savings, and it was forbidden to kill or torture them or to separate families when they were sold. As freemen were abased and slaves exalted, a new condition began to take form in serfdom of the soil. This was preferable to slavery, but the discouraged freeman ceased to work. Population diminished, and it became necessary to repopulate with barbarians the abandoned provinces.

The real army whose duty it was to repel invasion was now composed only of barbarians, mainly Germans, to whom the guardianship of the frontiers was imprudently confided. The legions, reduced from 6000 to 1500 men each so that their commanders might be less ambitious, garrisoned the cities of the interior. The palatines, who formed the emperor's private guard, were the best paid and most honored. Otherwise there was the same system in the army as in civil life, of servitude and privilege, which repelled every man of value from

the profession of arms. The recruits were obtained from the dregs of society or among the vagabonds of those barbarian nations who were soon to dictate the law. A sense of military honor did not exist. The soldiers were branded like galley slaves. Thus, in spite of its 133 legions, its arsenals, its magazines, its magnificent belt of fortifications along the Rhine, the Main, the Danube, the Euphrates, and the desert of Arabia, the empire was about to be assailed by despised enemies.

If then the new state of things elevated the classes formerly humble as the slave, the woman, the child, it on the other hand degraded whatever had been strong and proud as the freeman or citizen. As soldiers were wanting, so were writers and artists. Nothing great could issue from the schools, which Valentinian was to reorganize. They had only sophists and rhetoricians like Libanius, or scribblers of light verses and of epithalamia like Claudian. Literature and art, still closely linked with paganism, fell with the creed whose followers were soon to be found only in rural districts.

Faith and life, withdrawing from the old worship and the old society, passed to those that were new. Christianity had developed and received form in the fires of persecution. It had ascended the throne with Constantine, who heaped privileges, immunities, and wealth upon the Church. Thus an influence was added to that which it already possessed through its young and ardent faith, its proselyting spirit, and the genius of its leaders. Even heresy had served to strengthen it. From its bosom sprang forth a lofty, passionate, active literature, represented by Tertullian, Saint Athanasius, Saint Ambrose, Saint Augustine, Saint Gregory Nazianzen, Lactantius, Salvian, and many more. Fifteen great councils held in the fourth century bore witness to its activity, and were already regulating its doctrine, its discipline, and its ecclesiastical hierarchy. Though empire and ancient social order crumble away, the Church will survive. It will welcome the barbarians to its embrace, sending to the Dacian Goths an Arian bishop Ulphilas, to translate the Bible into their dialect, and other missionaries to convert the Burgundians.

Last Years of Constantine (323-337).—These three mighty facts—the establishment of Christianity as the dominant religion of the empire, the foundation of Constantinople, and the administrative reorganization—fill the reign of Constantine. From his defeat of Licinius in 323 to his death in 337, we find nothing in his personal history except the bloody tragedies of the imperial palace, in which by his orders his son Crispus, his empress Fausta, and the son of Licinius, a child of twelve, were put to death. Embassies of Blemmyes, Ethiopians, and Indians, a treaty with Sapor II, who promised to ameliorate the condition of the Christians in Persia, and two successful expeditions against the Goths and the Sarmatæ (332), caused all these domestic misfortunes to be forgotten. A few days before expiring Constantine was baptized.

CONSTANTIUS. JULIAN. THEODOSIUS

Constantius (337).—Constantine committed the mistake of dividing the empire between his three sons and several of his nephews, without deciding upon a definite dismemberment. This procedure caused fresh wars and fresh crimes. First of all the soldiers massacred his nephews with the exception of Gallus and Julian. The eldest of his sons, Constantine II, perished in battle against one of his brothers (340), who himself was killed (350) by the Frank Magnentius. Constantius, who had to check the Persians in the East and to combat a usurper in the West, appointed his cousin Gallus as Cæsar and intrusted to him the war against Sapor. Magnentius killed himself on being defeated in Pannonia (351), whereupon Gaul, Spain, and Britain submitted. Thus all the provinces were once more united under one master, but they were no better governed. The palace was distracted by the intrigues of women, eunuchs, and courtiers, and the empire by the quarrels of

Arianism and by the continued inroads of barbarians. From false reports Constantius believed that Gallus, the Cæsar of the East, was preparing to revolt. The young prince, recalled from Asia by flattering promises, was taken to Pola in Istria and beheaded. His brother Julian was spared. Exiled to Athens, he was able to fully gratify his taste for study and to become initiated into the Platonic doctrines. But imperial authority must be present on all the menaced frontiers. So after fourteen months it became necessary to recall Julian and intrust to him, as Cæsar, the defense of Gaul, now invaded by the Franks and the Alemanni. He vanquished the barbarians in the battle of Strasburg (357), expelled them from all the country comprised between Basle and Cologne, crossed the Rhine, and brought back a great number of captive Gauls and legionaries as prisoners. His skillful administration rendered him as popular with the citizens as his victories had done with the soldiers. Constantius grew uneasy and wished to take away his troops, but they mutinied and proclaimed him Augustus. This was a declaration of war. A bold and rapid march had already brought Julian to the heart of Illyricum, when Constantius died (361).

Julian (361).—Julian, a conqueror without a combat, abjured Christianity and received the surname of the Apostate. He publicly professed the ancient faith and reopened the temples. He strangely misunderstood the society which he was called to rule by attempting to restore life to the dead. Had he lived longer, he would doubtless have cruelly expiated this unintelligent return to the past. Nevertheless he did not summon the aid of violence to effect the triumph of reaction. He promulgated an edict of toleration, which permitted the sacrifices forbidden by Constantius, and recalled the exiled members of all religious parties; but he must be reproached for one astute order which forbade Christians to teach belles-lettres. The reign of Constantius had been incessantly troubled by the contentions of the Arians and the Orthodox. Alexandria and Constantinople were the principal theaters of this struggle. These quarrels assisted Julian in his attempted restora-

tion of paganism. Also the sect of the Donatists was devastating Africa at the same time. The Circumcelliones, separating from the Donatists, wished to establish social equality. They liberated debtors, broke the chains of the slaves, and divided the property of the masters. A savage war arose.

Austere himself, he laid claim to the simplicity of a rigid stoic. He was sometimes harsh toward others. Thus to judge faithless officers, after his accession he established a tribunal which was charged with revising unjust decisions. Once when severity would have been justified he displayed a patience which does him honor. Anxious to be avenged upon the Persians for the long injuries to the empire, he had reached Syria with his army. At Antioch the inhabitants, zealous Christians, loudly ridiculed him for his untrimmed beard and shabby clothing and even proceeded to insult. The emperor could punish, but the philosopher contented himself with replying by the *Misopogon,* a satire on their effeminate habits. At the head of 60,000 men he penetrated to Ctesiphon, where he crossed the Tigris and burned his fleet that his soldiers might have no other hope than victory. But misled by traitors and in need of provisions, he was obliged to fall back upon Gordyene to which a victory opened the road. In a second combat he fell severely wounded, and died conversing with his friends concerning the immortality promised to the just. Only thirty-two years of age, he had sat upon the throne less than twenty-three months (363).

Jovian (363). **Valentinian and Valens** (364).—The army proclaimed Jovian. By a disgraceful treaty he abandoned to Sapor the supremacy in Armenia and the five provinces beyond the Tigris with many strongholds which served as bulwarks to the empire. He died seven months afterward (364). The generals agreed to proclaim Valentinian, who gave the East to his brother Valens, and established himself at Paris, whence he could observe the Germans. He sowed discord among the barbarians, set the Burgundians against the Alemanni, and after conquering several of those turbulent tribes rebuilt the fortresses which guarded the passages of

the Rhine. In his internal government, he was stern even to cruelty. Death was the punishment for all offenses. But he showed himself tolerant in religious affairs. Unfortunately for the empire this valiant chief died in an expedition against the Quadi (375). His son Gratian who succeeded abandoned to his younger brother, Valentinian II, the prefectures of Italy and Illyricum.

In the East Valens, less wise, had entered into religious quarrels instead of reorganizing the army. A great peril threatened. A horde of Huns, belonging to the Mongol race of Eastern Asia, had crossed the Ural, subjugated the Alani, and driven back upon the Danube the Goths, who stretched out supplicating hands to the emperor (375). Valens, whose pride was flattered, forgot his prudence and welcomed this host of 200,000 fighting men. Afterward they rose against him, and Valens near Adrianople experienced a defeat more disastrous than that of Cannæ (378). Barely a third of the Roman army escaped. The wounded emperor perished in a hut to which the barbarians set fire. The whole country was horribly ravaged. Some bands of Saracens, summoned from Asia, saved Constantinople. Those children of the southern deserts found themselves for the first time in hand-to-hand combat with the men of the north whom they were destined to encounter three and a half centuries later at the other extremity of the Mediterranean.

Theodosius (378).—At this very time Gratian was fighting the Alemanni near Colmar, while the Empire of the East was without a head. To replace his uncle he chose a skillful general, Theodosius, who reorganized the army and restored the soldiers' courage by affording them the opportunity of fighting petty engagements in which he took care that they should have the advantage. He allowed no fortress to fall into the hands of the enemy and diminished their numbers by provoking desertions. At last without having won a victory he forced the Goths to make a treaty (382). In reality Theodosius gave them what they wished. He established them in Thrace and Mœsia with the duty of defending the pas-

sage of the Danube. Forty thousand of their warriors were admitted to the imperial ranks.

In Gaul Gratian had been overthrown by the usurper Maximus (383) who, taking advantage of the Arian troubles in Italy, crossed the Alps and forced Valentinian II to take refuge with Theodosius. This prince brought him back to Italy after a victory over Maximus, who was put to death by his own soldiers in Aquileia. He gave him, as his principal minister, the Frank Arbogast, who had just freed Gaul from the Germans, but who filled all the civil and military offices with barbarians. After the departure of Theodosius, Valentinian attempted to break away from this tutelage, but a few days later he was found strangled in his bed (392).

Arbogast threw the purple over the shoulders of a dependent of his own, the pagan orator, Eugenius, and tried to rally to his cause what pagans remained, This imprudent conduct roused the Christians against him. A single battle near Aquileia ended his ephemeral domination. Eugenius was made prisoner and put to death. Arbogast killed himself (394). This time the victor retained his conquest. This victory was also the triumph of orthodoxy. Theodosius forbade under severe penalties the worship of the pagan gods. He forbade the bestowal of hònors on heretics, nor could they dispose of their property by will. On the other hand he made wise regulations in the effort to heal some of the evils infesting this moribund society. He honored the last days of the empire by exhibiting upon the throne those virtues which the people had rarely beheld there.

The inhabitants of Thessalonica during a riot had killed the governor and several imperial officers. Theodosius gave orders which cost 7000 persons their lives. This massacre excited a sentiment of horror throughout the empire. When he presented himself some time later at the doors of the cathedral of Milan, Saint Ambrose in the presence of all the people reproached him with his crime and forbade him to enter the church. The emperor accepted the public penance which the saintly bishop thus imposed in the name of God and outraged humanity. At his death he divided the empire between

his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius (395). This final partition corresponded with the real state of affairs, for the Adriatic separated two languages and almost two religions. Constantinople, Greek-Orthodox though so often Arian, and Rome, Latin and Catholic, had each desired its own emperor. This separation still exists in the different creeds and civilizations of those two halves of the ancient world.

End of the Western Empire (476).—The barbarians who for four centuries had remained on the defensive were now beginning incessant attacks. Thanks to her situation, Constantinople was almost impregnable to assault. Rome, on the contrary, was speedily captured. The Empire of the West writhed for eighty years in a painful death agony, the chief features of which we shall find in the subsequent history of Alaric, Attila, and Genseric. Honorius died in 423. His nephew Valentinian III reigned miserably until 455 and perished by assassination. Majorian, worthy of a better epoch, was killed by the Sueve Ricimer, who bestowed the crown on three senators in succession. Finally a chieftain of the Heruli, Odoacer, put an end to the Western Empire (476) by deposing the last emperor, Romulus Augustus. Proclaimed king of Italy by his barbarians, he assigned them one-third of the territory of the country, and requested at Constantinople the title of patrician, thereby recognizing the rights of the Eastern Emperor as suzerain of the new kingdom.

Summary.—The Roman Empire fell because it had at its origin detestable political principles, and in its latter days a deplorable military organization. Taxes, constantly becoming more burdensome, and a merciless fiscal system alienated the affection of subjects whom the army no longer defended. A new religion, which tended to detach attention from the earth, did not strengthen the devotion for the public cause. Thus the empire was not thrown down headlong by a violent and unexpected blow. It collapsed because it could no longer live.

The Roman people added nothing to the heritage Greece had bequeathed. Nevertheless it also left behind great deeds and great lessons, though belonging to an-

ATTILA, KING OF THE HUNS, AND HIS WILD RIDERS ON ONE OF THEIR RAIDS INTO WESTERN EUROPE

From the Painting by V. Checa

other order of facts and ideas. Its language has been and still in a measure is the bond of the learned world. Its laws have inspired modern legislation. Its military roads, its bridges, its aqueducts, have made men understand the necessity of public works. Its administration has taught how to control multitudes of men. Its government has served as a model to the absolute monarchies which have succeeded the feudal system. Its municipal institutions are the source of our own and could still offer useful examples. Lastly it began the transformation of ancient slavery into serfdom.

The barbaric kings, dazzled at the splendor shed by this dying empire, had at first no other idea than to continue it. Clovis will be a patrician of Rome. Theodoric will count himself the colleague of the emperor of the East. Charlemagne, Otho, Frederick Barbarossa, will call themselves the successors of Constantine. The Christianity of Jerusalem, become Catholicism at Rome, will be the most powerful government of the soul. The spiritual monarchy of the popes will copy and strive to replace the temporal monarchy of the emperors. The intellectual heirs of Ulpian and of Papinian will attach to feudal royalty the powers bestowed upon the Cæsars by the lex regia. When those royalties shall all have perished in their turn, Napoleon will assume a Roman title as representative of an idea both new and old, the idea of the protectorate of popular interests exercised at Rome by the tribunes of the people, whose power, tribunicia potestas, the emperors had absorbed.

Thus the history of Rome will long remain the training-school of the lawyer and the statesman, even as artists, thinkers, and poets will always turn toward Greece.

HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE AGES

THE BARBARIAN WORLD IN THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES

Definition of the Middle Ages.—The term Middle Ages indicates the period which elapsed between the ruin of the Roman Empire and the establishment of the great modern monarchies. It extends from the German invasion at the beginning of the fifth century to the capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks ten centuries later, in 1453.

In this period, situated between ancient and modern times, the cultivation of arts and letters was suspended, although a new and magnificent architecture was developed. In place of the republics of antiquity and the monarchies of our day there grew up a special organization called feudalism. This domination of the feudal lords, the product of many centuries, was finally overthrown by Louis XI, the Tudors, and the princes contemporary with them. Although there were kings in all countries, the military and ecclesiastical chiefs were the real sovereigns from the ninth to the twelfth century. The central power had no force, local powers had no overseer or guide, the frontiers had no fixed limits. The sovereign and owner parceled out the territory into a multitude of petty states where the sentiment of nationality could not exist. Nevertheless above this condition of many lords hovered the idea of Christianity represented by the Pope, and of a certain political unity represented by the emperor in comparison with whom all the kings of Europe were provincial. Thus the great wars of those times were religious wars, as were the crusades against the Mussulmans of Palestine, the Moors

of Spain, the Albigensian heretics or the pagans of the Baltic, or were a struggle between the two powers which aspired to rule the world, a quarrel between Papacy and the Empire. Hence there is a wide difference between this period and those periods which preceded or followed. Hence of necessity it has a name and a place apart in universal history.

The Northern Barbarians: their Habits and Religion.— During the military anarchy which drained the last resources of the Roman Empire, peoples, hitherto concealed in the depths of the north, south, and east, were setting themselves in motion beyond its boundaries, to which they daily drew nearer. In the north were three layers of humanity, placed at intervals in the following order: Germans, Slavs, and Turanian tribes. On the east were the Persians, a settled and stationary people, who had often made war on the empire but had no thought of invading it. On the south in the deserts of their great peninsula were the Arabs, who as yet caused no fear; and in the wastes of Africa the Moorish populations, who had been touched rather than permeated by Roman civilization.

At the death of Theodosius (395) there was no serious danger except from the north. Driven forward by the Asiatic hordes from the banks of the Volga, the Germans were pressing upon the frontiers of the empire. The Suevi or Suabians, Alemanni, and Bavarians were in the south between the Main and Lake Constance. The Marcomanni, Quadi, Heruli, and the great Gothic nation controlled the left bank of the Danube. In the west along the Rhine extended the confederation of the Franks, formed as early as the middle of the third century, and toward the mouth of the Ems, the Frisii, a remnant of the Batavi. In the north were the Vandals, Burgundi, Rugii, and Longobardi or Lombards; between the Elbe and the Eyder, the Angles and Saxons; farther north, the Scandinavians, Jutes, and Danes in Sweden and Denmark, whence they emerged to join the second invasion; and lastly in the immense plains of the east and at many points of the Danubian valley, the Slavs, who were to follow the Germanic invasion but only to

enter into history later on, first through the Poles and then through the Russians.

A spirit totally different from that of the inhabitants of the Roman Empire animated these barbarians. Among them reigned the love of individual independence, the devotion of the warrior to his chieftain and a passion for wars of adventure. As soon as the young man had received in the public assembly his buckler and lance, he was a warrior and a citizen. He immediately attached himself to some famous chieftain, whom he followed to battle with other warriors, his leudes or henchmen, always ready to die in his behalf. The government of the Germans was simple. The affairs of the tribe were administered in an assembly in which all took part. The warriors gathered there together in arms. The clash of shields denoted applause; a violent murmur, disapproval. The same assembly exercised judicial power. Each canton had its magistrate, the graf, and the whole nation had a könig, or king, elected from among the members of one special family which held hereditary possession of that title. For combat the warriors chose the leader, or herzog, whom they wished to follow.

The Olympus or heaven of these peoples presented a mixture of terrible and graceful conceptions. At the side of Odin, who gave victory and who by night rode through the air with the dead warriors; of Donar, the Hercules of the Germans; and of the fierce joys of Walhalla,—appeared the goddesses Freja and Holda, the Venus and the Diana of the north, who everywhere diffused peace and the arts. The Germans also adored Herta, the earth, Sunna, the sun, and her brother Mani, the moon, who was pursued by two wolves. The bards were their poets and encouraged them to brave death. It was their glory to die with a laugh.

The Germans cultivated the soil but little. They possessed no domain as private property, and every year the magistrates distributed to each village and each family the plot which they were to cultivate. They had no towns but scattered earthen huts far distant from each other, each surrounded by the plot which the proprietor

cultivated. Their habits were, generally speaking, pure. Polygamy was authorized only for the kings and the nobles. But drunkenness and bloody quarrels generally terminated their Homeric feasts, and they had a passion for gambling.

Arrival of the Huns in Europe.—Behind this Germanic family which was destined to occupy the greater part of the empire, pressed two other barbarous races: the Slavs whose turn did not come until later, and the Huns who were an object of fear to the people of the west. Their lives were passed in enormous chariots or in the saddle. Their bony faces, pierced with little eyes, their broad flat noses, their enormous wide-spread ears and swarthy tattooed skins made them seem hardly human. At the end of the fourth century they had convulsed the whole barbaric world and precipitated the Germans upon the Empire of the West. In consequence of intestine discords a part of the nation of the Huns, driven on toward Europe, crossed the Volga, carrying with them the Alani. They dashed themselves against the great Gothic empire in which Hermanric had united the three branches of the nation: the Ostrogoths or Oriental Goths east of the Dnieper; the Visigoths or western Goths; the Gepidæ or Laggards farther to the north. The Ostrogoths submitted. The Visigoths fled toward the Danube and obtained from the Emperor Valens an asylum on the lands of the empire. They revolted soon after against their benefactor and slew him at the battle of Adrianople (378). But they were arrested by Theodosius, who established many of them in Thrace, where at first they faithfully defended that frontier against the Huns.

Invasion of the Visigoths. Alaric. The Great Invasion of 406.—When at the death of Theodosius his two sons divided their heritage (395), Honorius received the West. His provinces bore the full brunt of the invasion from the north. In the course of half a century this empire endured the four terrible assaults of Alaric, Radagaisus, Genseric, and Attila. Hardly had it fallen, when the Franks of Clovis wrested the finest portion from its invaders, which they still retain. The Visigoths

ALARIC, KING OF THE WEST GOTHS, ENTERS ROME A.D, 410

From the Painting by W. Lindenschmit

under the lead of their king Alaric first tried their forces against the Empire of the East. They ravaged Thrace and Macedonia, passed Thermopylæ, where there was no longer a Leonidas, devastated Attica, but respected Athens, and penetrated into the Peloponnesus. The Vandal Stilicho, general of Honorius, surrounded them on Mount Pholoe, but they escaped. Arcadius, who reigned at Constantinople, only rid himself of their dangerous presence by pointing out the Empire of the West. They hastened thither, but found at Polentia in Liguria (403) the same Stilicho, who defeated them and forced them to evacuate Italy. Honorius, to celebrate this victory of his lieutenant, enjoyed a triumph at Rome and offered the people the last sanguinary games of the circus. Then he hid himself at Ravenna behind the marshes at the south of the Po, disdaining his ancient capital, and no longer daring to reside in Milan, where Alaric had nearly surprised him.

The ostensible consent of the empire had admitted upon its territory the Visigoths, who rewarded it badly. But now four peoples, the Suevi, Alani, Vandals, and Burgundians, at two points forced their way across the frontier. One of their divisions passed the Alps under Radagaisus, but was annihilated at Fiesole by Stilicho. Another crossed the Rhine (406) and for two years laid waste the whole of Gaul. Afterward the Burgundians founded on the banks of the Rhone a kingdom which Honorius recognized in 413, and the Alani, the Suevi, and the Vandals proceeded to inundate Spain. The great invasion had begun.

Capture of Rome by Alaric (410). Kingdoms of the Visigoths, Suevi, and Vandals.—But Alaric returned to the charge. No longer was he confronted by Stilicho, who had been sacrificed to the jealousy of Honorius. He captured Rome, delivered it over to the fury of his barbarians, who, however, respected the Christian churches, and died some time later in Calabria at Cosenza (410). The Visigoths hollowed out a tomb for him in the bed of a river whose waters had been diverted, and then restored the natural course of the stream after having slain the prisoners who had done the work.

The power of the Visigoths did not expire with Alaric. Notwithstanding their sack of Rome this people who had been so long in contact with the empire were specially disposed to yield to the paramount influence of Roman civilization. Ataulf, the brother-in-law of Alaric, and after him Wallia, entered the service of Honorius. In his interest they rescued Gaul from three usurpers who had there assumed the purple, and Spain from the three barbarian tribes which had invaded it. For his reward Wallia obtained a portion of Aquitania, and founded the kingdom of the Visigoths (419) which was to cross the Alps. During the same year Hermanric organized with the remnants of the Suevi a kingdom in the mountains of the Asturias. A little later the Vandals, who had been crowded into the south of Spain, crossed into Africa. They captured Hippo despite its long resistance, which the exhortations of the Bishop Saint Augustine sustained, and forced the Emperor Valentinian to recognize their occupancy (435). Genseric, who made this conquest, also seized Carthage (439), founded a maritime power on those shores which had formerly acknowledged the Carthaginian sway, and until his death (477) ravaged all the coasts of the Mediterranean with his ships. In 453 he captured Rome and for the space of fourteen days gave it over to pillage.

Attila.—Four barbaric kingdoms had already risen in the West when Attila made his appearance. This is the great episode in the invasion of the fifth century. What would have become of Europe under the Tartar domination of Attila, the scourge of God, who wished the grass not to grow where his horse's hoof had fallen! Having put to death his brother Bleda, he reigned alone over the nation of the Huns, and held under his yoke all the peoples established on the banks of the Danube. He inhabited a wooden palace in a city in the plains of Pannonia, whence he had dictated laws and imposed tribute on Theodosius II, emperor of the East. When Genseric invited him to create a diversion favorable to his own designs he poured upon the West the immense hosts of his peoples. He traversed northeastern Gaul, overthrowing everything in his path, and laid siege to

Orleans. The patrician Aëtius hastened thither with a mixed army, in which Visigoths, Burgundians, Franks, and Saxons fought beside the Romans against the new invaders. The decisive battle of Châlons (451) drove Attila to the other side of the Rhine. He retreated toward Italy. There he destroyed many cities, and among others Aquileia, whose inhabitants escaped to the lagoons of the Adriatic, where they laid the foundations of Venice. On his return to Pannonia he died of apoplexy (453) and the great power of the Huns wasted away in the quarrels of his sons.

The Western emperors were hardly more than playthings in the hands of the barbarian chiefs who commanded their troops. One of them, the Herule Odoacer, ended this death agony by assuming the title of king of Italy (476). Thus fell the great name of the Western Empire, an event more important in subsequent than in contemporary eyes, which had been accustomed through more than half a century to see the barbarian masters dispose of everything. Nevertheless a remnant of the empire still existed under the patrician Syagrius at the center of Gaul, between the Loire and the Somme. Ten years later that too disappeared before the sword of the Franks.

PRINCIPAL BARBARIAN KINGDOMS. THE EASTERN EMPIRE

Barbarian Kingdoms of Gaul, Spain, and Africa.—We have just seen how from the Loire to the Strait of Gibraltar Alaric and his successors founded the kingdom of the Visigoths in Gaul and Spain, how Genseric built that of the Vandals in Africa, and lastly how Attila ravaged everything but constructed nothing. Other barbarian dominations established were those of the Burgundians, the Suevi, the Anglo-Saxons, the Ostrogoths, and the Lombards, which speedily passed away.

The Burgundian kingdom, established in 413 in the valleys of the Saône and Rhone with Geneva and Vienne for its principal cities, had eight kings of little distinction. Clovis rendered it tributary in 500 and his sons conquered it in 534.

The kingdom of the Suevi, born at the same time, expired a few years later. In 409 this people invaded Spain and seized the northwest region or Galicia. Under its kings Rechila and Rechiarius it seemed about to conquer the whole of Spain, but the Goths arrested its growth and reduced it to subjection (585).

Saxon Kingdoms in England.—Britain, separated from the continent by the sea, had her invasion apart. Under the Romans three distinct peoples existed there. These were: in the north, in the Scotland of to-day, the Caledonians or Picts and Scots whom the emperors had been unable to subdue; in the east and south, the Lœgrians who were affected by Roman civilization; on the west, beyond the Severn, the Cambrians or Welsh who seemed invincible in their mountains. Abandoned by the legions (428) and left defenseless to the incursions of the Picts, the Lœgrians (455) entreated assistance from the Saxons, Jutes, and Angles, who were incessantly setting out from their German and Scandinavian shores to plow the seas. Two Saxon chiefs, Hengist and Horsa, routed the Picts and received in payment the isle of Thanet on the coast of Kent. But Hengist, despoiling those who had summoned him, took possession of the country from the Thames to the Channel and assumed the title of king of Kent (455). Thenceforth the ambition of all these pirates was to conquer a settlement in Britain. The kingdom of Sussex or South Saxons was founded in 491; that of Wessex or West Saxons in 516; and that of Essex or East Saxons in 526. In 547 began the invasion of the Angles, who founded the kingdoms of Northumberland or the kingdom north of the Humber; on the eastern British coast, of East Anglia (577), and Mercia (584). These three kingdoms of the Angles being reckoned with the four Saxon kingdoms, there were in Britain seven little monarchies or the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy which later on formed a single state. The

Saxons formed the basis of the present population of the country and to them England owes her language.

Kingdom of the Ostrogoths in Italy. Theodoric (489-526).—The conquest of Italy by the Ostrogoths took place later and nearly coincided with the conquest of Gaul by the Franks. Emancipated from the yoke of the Huns by the death of Attila, the Ostrogoths in 475 had taken as their chief Theodoric, the son of one of their princes, who had been reared as a hostage at Constantinople. At the invitation of Zeno, emperor of the East, Theodoric conquered Italy from the Heruli (489-493), and showed himself the most truly great of the barbarian sovereigns prior to Charlemagne. To his kingdom of Italy by skillful negotiations he added Illyricum, Pannonia, Noricum, and Rhætia. A war against the Burgundians gave him the province of Marseilles and he routed a Frankish army near Arles in 507. The Bavarians paid him tribute. The Alemanni appealed to him for aid against Clovis. Finally at the death of Alaric II he became the guardian of his grandson Amalric and reigned in fact over the two great branches of the Gothic nation, whose possessions touched each other toward the Rhone and who occupied the shores of the Mediterranean in Spain, Gaul, and Italy. Family alliances united him to almost all the barbarian kings.

He made an admirable use of peace. The newcomers needed land. Each city gave up one-third of its territory for distribution to the Goths. This preliminary assignment once made, a common law was established for the two peoples, though the Goths retained some of their peculiar customs. In other respects he aimed at separating the vanquished from the victors, reserving arms for the barbarians and civil dignities for the Romans. He possessed a great veneration for ancient imperial institutions. He consulted the senate of Rome and maintained the municipal system of government, himself appointing the decurions. Thus a barbarian restored to Italy a prosperity which she had lost under her emperors. The public edifices, aqueducts, theaters, and baths were repaired, palaces and churches were built, and the waste lands were cultivated. Companies

were formed to drain the Pontine Marshes and those of Spoleto. The population increased. Theodoric, who did not know how to write, gathered around him the finest literary geniuses of the time, Cassiodorus, Boëthius, and Bishop Ennodius. Himself an Arian, he respected the Catholics and confirmed the immunities of the churches. Yet the close of his reign was saddened by threats of persecution in reprisal for what the Eastern emperor was inflicting on the Arians, and by the torture of Boëthius and of the prefect Symmachus, unjustly accused of conspiracy. He died in 526 and his kingdom survived him only a few years. Thus too passed rapidly away the Vandals and the Heruli, the Suevi and the Burgundians, the western and eastern Goths. They all formed part of the barbarian guard which first entered the empire. Roman society, incapable of defending itself, seems to have been strong enough to communicate to those who came in contact with it that death which it bore in its own breast.

Revival of the Eastern Empire. Justinian (527-565).— The ruined Empire of the West had been replaced by thirteen Germanic kingdoms: those of the Burgundians, Visigoths, Suevi, Vandals, Franks, Ostrogoths, and of the seven Anglo-Saxon states. The Greek Empire alone had escaped invasion and remained erect in spite of its religious discords and the general weakness of its government. The reign of Theodosius II, the longest which the fifth century presents (418-450), was really that of Pulcheria, the sister of the incapable emperor. It was signalized by the publication of the Theodosian Code. Under Zeno and Anastasius Constantinople was racked by quarrels and riots on questions of religion.

Justinian restored vigor and brilliancy to this empire. He preserved intact the eastern frontier and forced the Persians to conclude in 562, after thirty-four years of war, an honorable treaty. He repulsed (559) an invasion of Bulgarians which threatened Constantinople. In the west he destroyed the kingdom of the Vandals by the victories of Belisarius and that of the Ostrogoths by the successes of the eunuch Narses. While his generals were winning battles, his lawyers were drawing

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up the *Code,* the *Digest* or *Pandects,* the *Institutes,* and the *Novellæ,* which have transmitted to posterity the substance of ancient jurisprudence. This reign was the glorious protest of the Eastern Empire and of civilization against invasion and barbarism. The splendor was of brief continuance. In 568 Italy was lost. Conquered by the Lombards, a fourteenth Germanic kingdom was founded, which lasted more than 200 years and was to fall under the blows of Charlemagne. From her geographic position Constantinople could not be the heir of Rome. The inheritance of the Western Empire was to belong to the Germanic race.

As for the Eastern Empire, after that brilliant period it passed many gloomy days despite the talent of princes like Maurice and Heraclius. Thanks to her strategic situation Constantinople, the daughter of aged Rome, who bore on her brow from her very birth the wrinkles of the mother, alone remained standing like an isolated rock. For ten centuries she braved victoriously the assaults of the Mussulmans in the south and of the Slavic and Turanian tribes on the north.

CLOVIS AND THE MEROVINGIANS

(481-752)

The Franks.—In the third century after Christ the Germans had formed on the right bank of the Rhine two confederations: on the south, that of the Suevic tribes, who called themselves the Alemanni or men; on the north, that of the Salii, the Sicambri, the Bructeri, the Cherusci, and the Catti, who took the name of Franks or the brave. They are first mentioned by Roman writers in 241 when Aurelian, then legionary tribune, defeated a body of Franks on the lower Rhine. Probus recaptured from them the Gallic cities which they had attacked on the death of Aurelian, and transported a

colony of them to the Black Sea (277). A little later others crossed the Rhine, devastated Belgium, and received from Julian authority to establish themselves on the banks of the Meuse, which they had ravaged. Several of the Frankish chiefs rose to high positions in the empire. Thus Arbogast was the prime minister of Valentinian II and disposed of the purple.

Twelve years after his death the Franks, already established in northern Gaul, tried to arrest the great invasion of 406. Failing in this they wished to obtain their share of these provinces which the emperor himself was abandoning, and their tribes advanced into the interior of the country, each one under its own chieftain or king. At that time there were Frankish kings at Cologne, Tournay, Cambrai, and Thérouanne. Of these kings, Clodion, chief of the Salian Franks of the country of Tongres or Limburg, is the first whose existence has been well authenticated. Pharamond, his reputed predecessor, is mentioned only in later chronicles. He captured Tournay and Cambrai, put to death all the Romans whom he found, and advanced toward the Somme, which he crossed; but in the neighborhood of Sens was vanquished by the Roman general Aëtius (448).

He did not survive his defeat. Merovig his kinsman succeeded. He joined three years later with all the barbarians quartered in Gaul and with the rest of the Romans in resisting the Huns. The battle of Châlons (451) against Attila cost the lives, it is said, of 300,000 men and rescued the barbarian nations encamped between the Rhine and the Pyrenees.

Childeric, the son of Merovig, was expelled by the Franks, who were disgusted at his excesses. He was replaced by the Roman general Ægidius. Recalled at the end of eight years, he reigned over the Franks until his death and was interred in Tournay, where his tomb was discovered in 1633. His son Chlodowig, or Clovis, was the real founder of the Frankish monarchy.

Clovis.—In 481 Clovis possessed only a few districts of Belgium with the title of king of the Salian Franks, who had settled in the neighborhood of Tournay. He

commanded 4000 or 5000 warriors. Five years later he defeated near Soissons Syagrius, the son of Ægidius, who governed in the name of the empire the country between the Somme and the Loire. He forced the Visigoths among whom the vanquished general had taken refuge to give him up, put him to death, and subdued the country as far as the Loire.

In 493 he married Clotilde, daughter of a Burgundian king, herself an orthodox Christian. This union had the happiest results, for Clotilde soon converted her husband. As all the barbarians established in Gaul were Arians and hence in orthodox eyes equivalent to heretics, Clovis became the hope of the orthodox Gauls. Even before his conversion, Amiens, Beauvais, Paris, and Rouen had opened their gates, thanks to the influence of their bishops. The Alemanni having crossed the Rhine, Clovis marched against them. He was on the point of being vanquished, when he invoked the God of Clotilde. Success seemed granted to his prayer, and the Alemanni were thrust back beyond that river and pursued into Suabia. On his return Clovis was baptized with 3000 of his men by Saint Remi, archbishop of Reims.

The country between the Loire and the Somme was subjugated and Armoricum won over to his alliance. Then he attacked the Burgundians (500), defeated their king Gundobad, and made him pay tribute. Then one day he said to his soldiers, "It causes me great grief that those Arian Visigoths possess a part of this Gaul. Let us march with the help of God and after vanquishing them let us reduce their country to our power." The army crossed the Loire, by the express order of the king religiously respecting on its passage all the property of the churches. The Visigothic king Alaric II was beaten and slain at Vouillé near Poitiers. That city, Saintes, Bordeaux, Toulouse, opened their gates and Septimania with Nîmes, Béziers, and Narbonne would have been conquered if Theodoric, the great head of the Ostrogoths, had not sent succor to his brethren of the West. On his return from this expedition Clovis found the ambassadors of the Emperor Anastasius, who brought him the titles of consul and patrician with the purple

tunic and robe. His last years were bloody. He slew Sigebert and Chloderic kings of Cologne, Chararic another petty Frankish king, Ragnachairus king of Cambrai, and Benomer king of the Mans, that he might seize their kingdoms and treasures. He died in 511 and was interred in the basilica of the Holy Apostles or Saint Geneviève which he himself had built. His reign had lasted thirty years, and his life forty-five.

At his death the state which he founded comprised all Gaul except Gascogne where no Frankish troop had made its appearance, and Brittany which was controlled by counts or military chiefs. The Alemanni in Alsace and Suabia were associates in the fortunes of the Franks rather than subject to the authority of their king. The Burgundians after paying tribute for a time fully intended to refuse it in future; and the cities of Aquitaine, feebly restrained by Frankish garrisons at Bordeaux and Saintes, remained almost independent.

As to the victorious nation united only for conquest and pillage it had contented itself with expelling the Visigoths from Aquitaine without replacing them. The war ended, the Franks had returned with their booty to their former abodes between the Rhine and the Loire. Clovis himself had settled at Paris, a central position between the two rivers, whence he could more easily watch the provinces and his enemies.

The Sons of Clovis (511-561).—The four sons of Clovis shared his territories and followers, so that each one had a nearly equal portion of the land to the north of the Loire where the Frankish nation had settled, and also a part of the Roman cities of Aquitaine which paid rich tributes. Childebert was king of Paris, Clotaire, king of Soissons; Clodimir, king of Orleans; Thierry, king of Metz or Austrasia.

The impulse imparted by Clovis lasted for some time. His sons carried their arms to Thuringia, Burgundy, Italy, and Spain. The Alemanni and the Bavarians recognized them as suzerains, and the Saxons paid them tribute.

Frédégonde and Brunehaut.—Clotaire, one of the sons of Clovis, had reunited his father's kingdom in 558, but upon his death three years afterward the Frankish mon-

archy became again a tetrarchy by the partition of its states among his four sons: Caribert, king of Paris; Gontram, of Orleans and Burgundy; Sigebert, of Austrasia, and Chilperic, of Soissons. From that time rivalry began, destined to increase between the eastern Franks or Austrasians and the western Franks or Neustrians. The former were more faithful to the rude manners, of Germany, of which they were the neighbors. The latter were more accessible to the influence of that Roman civilization in the midst of which they had settled.

This opposition finds its first expression in the hatred of two women. Sigebert had married Brunehaut, the daughter of Athanagild king of the Visigoths, beautiful, learned, and ambitious. Chilperic, desirous also of a royal wife, obtained the hand of Galswinthe, the sister of Brunehaut. Soon, however, he returned to his imperious concubine Frédégonde, who caused her rival to be strangled and took her place. Brunehaut burning to avenge her sister stirred up Sigebert to attack Neustria. Her husband, victorious, was about to proclaim himself king of the Neustrians, when two servants of Frédégonde, "bewitched by her," stabbed him at the same time in the side with poisoned knives (575). As his son Childebert II was still a minor, the Austrasians were governed by a mayor of the palace. That official was originally a mere steward of the king's household, chosen from among his vassals. Supported by other vassals, the mayors of the palace were to acquire an important influence to the advantage of the barbarous aristocracy, already very hostile to royalty, and were to hold the feeble kings in tutelage until the moment came when they could take their place.

The years that followed are confused and bloody, filled with the turbulence of the leudes or liegemen, and above all with the fierce struggle between Brunehaut and Frédégonde. The former in the name of her children and grandchildren seized the power in both Austrasia and Burgundy. Her stern and orderly rule alienated her subjects, who proposed to Clotaire II, the son of Chilperic and Frédégonde, to make him their

king if he would rid them of Brunehaut. Abandoned by her troops, she and her four grandsons were captured by Clotaire. He cut the throats of the young princes and had the aged queen fastened to the tail of a wild horse (613) which dashed her body to pieces.

Clotaire II (584) **and Dagobert** (628).—Clotaire II for the third time established the unity of the Frankish monarchy. Under his reign seventy-nine bishops and many laymen took part in the Council of Paris, which promulgated a so-called perpetual constitution whereby the power of the ecclesiastical and secular aristocracy was greatly increased. The taxes imposed were abolished, the fiefs granted were declared inalienable, and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction was extended.

The reign of Dagobert was the most brilliant of the Merovingian line and gave to the Franks preponderance in Western Europe. He stopped the incursions of the Venedi over whom a Frankish merchant had become king, opposed the incursions of the Slavonians into Thuringia, and delivered Bavaria from a Bulgarian invasion. In Gaul he compelled the submission of the Vascons and the alliance of the Bretons, whose chief had assumed the title of king. He chose clever ministers and won a legitimate popularity by traveling about his kingdom to administer justice in behalf of the small as well as the great. He revised the laws of the Salii, the Riparii, the Alemanni, and the Bavarians, encouraged commerce and industry, and built the Abbey of Saint Denis.

The Sluggard Kings. The Mayors of the Palace (638-687).—But Dagobert carried the power of the Merovingians with him to the tomb. After him came the sluggard kings. Nevertheless royalty found a formidable champion in Ebroin, mayor of the palace in Neustria, who with increased energy resumed the struggle of Brunehaut and Dagobert against the leudes and their chief, Saint Leger, bishop of Autun. Many vassals who seemed too independent were put to death, deprived of their property, or banished. The Austrasian vassals made common cause with the exiles. They deposed their Merovingian king and confided the power to the two

mayors, Martin and Pepin d'Heristal, with the title of princes of the Franks. After the death of Ebroin they gained the battle of Testry and all Neustria in consequence (687). From that day forth Pepin d'Heristal reigned in reality though without assuming the title of king. His successors were to erect the Frankish Empire in which all the Germanic invasion is summed up.

MOHAMMED AND THE ARAB INVASION

Arabia. Mohammed and the Koran.—After the German invasion which came from the north followed the Arab invasion from the south. Arabia, whose peoples then appeared for the first time on the scene of history, is a vast peninsula covering more than a million square miles. Northward it opens upon Asia through extensive deserts and is attached on the northwest to Africa by the Isthmus of Suez. Elsewhere it is surrounded by the Red Sea, the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb, the Indian Ocean, the Strait of Ormus, and the Persian Gulf. The ancients, who had small acquaintance with it, divided it into three parts: Arabia Petræa or the peninsula of Sinaï; Arabia Deserta or Nedjed, comprising the deserts which extend from the Red Sea to the Euphrates; and Arabia Felix or Yemen. Its religion was a mixture of Christianity, introduced by the Abyssinians and Greeks; of Sabeism, taught by the Persians; of Judaism, which had filtered in everywhere in the track of the Jews; and above all of idolatry. The temple of the Kaaba in the holy city of Mecca contained 360 idols, the custody of which was intrusted to the illustrious family of the Koreïsh. There was much religious indifference in the presence of so many faiths. The masses of population were kept together by the poets, who were already developing the language of Islam in those poetical tournaments, wherein the idea of Allah, the Supreme Being, frequently occurs.

Mohammed was born of Koreïsh parents in 570. Early an orphan and without fortune, he became a camel-driver and traveled in Syria, where he became intimate with a monk of Bostra. His integrity and intelligence won the hand of a rich widow named Khadijah. Thenceforth he could give himself up to his meditations. At the age of forty his ideas were fixed.

To Khadijah, to his cousin Ali, to his freedman Seïd, and to his friend Abou-Bekr he disclosed his purpose of restoring to the religion of Abraham its primitive purity. He told them that he was receiving from God through the Angel Gabriel the verses of a book which was to be the book of all others, or the Koran. He designated his new religion as Islam or entire resignation to the divine will. His hearers believed in him and Abou-Bekr won over Othman and the fiery Omar to the new faith. The proselytes increased daily. Persecuted by the Koreïsh, he fled to Yatreb (622). With the year of the Hegira or Flight the Mussulman era begins.

Yatreb now became Medinat-al-Nabi, the city of the Prophet, commonly called Medina. At the battle of Bedr 300 of his followers defeated 1000 Koreïsh (624). Afterwards he was worsted at Mount Ohud, but gained a decisive advantage in the War of the Nations or of the Trench. Finally he reëntered Mecca (630), where he destroyed all the idols, saying: "The truth has come. Let the falsehood disappear!" From that moment he was the religious leader of Arabia. He wrote threatening letters to Chosroes, king of Persia, and to Heraclius, emperor of the East, and was on the point of undertaking a holy war against them when he died (632).

The Koran is the collection of all the revelations which according to the occasion fell from the mouth of the Prophet, and which were collected in a first edition by the orders of the Caliph Abou-Bekr, and in a second by those of the Caliph Othman. Composed of one hundred and fourteen chapters or surates subdivided into verses, it contains both the religious and civil law of the Mussulmans. The basis of its dogma is fully summed up in these words, "There is no God but God, and

Mohammed is the prophet of God." In Allah, the sole and jealous God, the Koran admits no plurality of persons and it places no inferior divinity beside him. It rejects all idea of God made man; but it teaches that God has revealed himself by a series of prophets, of whom Mohammed is the last and the most complete. Those who preceded him are: Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Christ, with whom God communicated through angels, his messengers. Mohammed acknowledged that Christ possessed the gift of miracles which he himself had not. He preached the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body and its participation in the joys or sufferings of a future life. A delightful but sensual paradise was in store for the good, a burning hell for the bad. Nevertheless in this paradise which appealed to the vulgar crowd there are also spiritual joys. "The most favored of God will be he who shall behold his face evening and morning, a felicity which will surpass all the pleasures of the senses as the ocean surpasses a drop of dew."

He elevated the condition of Arab women. "A son," he said, "wins paradise at the feet of his mother." Before his day the daughters inherited nothing. He assigned to them one-half the portion of their brothers. While enforcing the authority of the husband, he bade him be a tender protector to his wife. Though he tolerated polygamy so as not to shock Eastern customs, he allowed a man only four legitimate wives, and advised that as a praiseworthy act a man should confine himself to one. The Koran prescribes severe penalties for theft, usury, fraud, and false witness and enjoins alms. It minutely regulates the ritual of worship; the fast of Ramazan; the observance of the four sacred months, an ancient custom which like the truce of God suspended hostilities among the faithful; the great annual pilgrimage to Mecca, where Mohammed had installed the seat of this new religion; the five daily prayers; the ablutions, either with water or sand; circumcision; abstinence from wine, and many other detailed observances. Nevertheless so far as Christians and Jews were concerned, it is sufficient not to ally oneself

with them by blood and one must not fight against them unless they give provocation. As for other people, it is the duty of every good Mussulman to attack, pursue, and slay them if they do not embrace the religion of the Prophet.

These doctrines, these hopes, and these threats were powerful springs of action which launched the Arabs, sword in hand, in every direction.

The Caliphate. The Sunnites and Shiites. Arab Conquests (637-661).—Mohammed did not designate his successor, but Abou-Bekr, whom he had charged with pronouncing the formal prayer in his place, was recognized as caliph or religious, civil, and military chief (632). Abou-Bekr in turn designated Omar (634) and after Omar, Othman was elected (644), who was succeeded by Ali. The latter was the husband of Fatima, daughter of the Prophet, and chief of the Fatimite party which gave birth to the great Mussulman sect of the Shiites or Separatists. They regard Ali as having been unjustly excluded from the succession after the death of Mohammed. The Sunnites, or followers of tradition, recognize Abou-Bekr, Omar, and Othman as legitimate. After Ali the hereditary system begins with the Ommiades (661).

This period is that of the great conquests. Khaled and Amrou by the victories of Aïznadin and the Yermouk wrested Syria from Heraclius, emperor of the East, who had just returned victorious from expeditions against Persia. In ten years' time the conquest of Persia was assured by the victories of Kadesiah, Jalula, and Nehavend. Yezdegerd, the last of the Sassanides, in vain besought succor from the emperor of China. In 639 Amrou entered Egypt and made himself master of the country after besieging Alexandria fourteen months.

The Ommiades.—The usurpation of Moaviah, chief of the Ommiades, who rendered the government a despotism and made Damascus his capital, was followed by civil dissensions. Blood flowed in streams for thirty years. The almost suspended movement of conquest began again about 691 under Abd-el-Malek. In the east, Transoxiana and Sogdiana were conquered and

India was threatened. Though in the north Constantinople successfully resisted a seven years' siege (672-679), the Arab power was established in the west along the entire northern coast of Africa. Kairowan was founded, Carthage captured, a revolt of the Moors stifled, and the Columns of Hercules passed by Tarik, who gave them his name as the mountain of Tarik or Gibraltar. The Spanish Visigothic kingdom, weakened by ecclesiastical influence and given up to discord by its elective system of monarchy, succumbed at the battle of Xeres (711). Of all the peninsula the Christians retained only a corner of land in the Asturian mountains where Pelayo took refuge with his comrades. Carried on by their ardor the rapid conquerors crossed the Pyrenees, occupied Septimania, ravaged Aquitaine, and were already marching upon Tours when Charles Martel arrested them by the victory of Poitiers or Tours (732).

Division of the Caliphate.—Thus the Arabs at a bound reached the Pyrenees and the Himalayas. Their faith was supreme over two thousand leagues of country. Nevertheless geography, the greatest of forces to support or destroy newborn states, condemned their empire to speedy partition among many masters, because it was too extensive to have one center and contained too many different peoples to possess unity. The diverse influences of locality and race soon began to manifest themselves and then to enter into conflict. The dynasties, representing this or that nationality, which geography and history had produced, began to dispute the throne with one another and as a natural result the empire fell to pieces.

In 750 the Syrian dynasty of the Ommiades was overthrown by Abul-Abbas, who founded the dynasty of the Abbassides, sprung from an uncle of Mohammed. A single Ommiad escaping proscription fled to Spain and there erected the Caliphate of the West or of Cordova (755). Thus the Abbassides now reigned only over the Caliphate of the East or of Bagdad, a new capital built upon the Tigris in 762 near the ancient Seleucia. There they furnished a succession of great men: Almanzor (754), Haroun-al-Raschid or the Just (786), Al-Mamoun

(813); all of them patrons of letters, arts, and science, which they had borrowed from the Greeks. But in those places which had always witnessed despotism and where the shade of the great kings still seemed to wander, the caliphs soon came to consider themselves the image of God on earth. A splendid court separated them from their people, immense wealth replaced the poverty of Omar, and military ardor became extinct in the midst of an effeminate life. Then these men, ignorant of how to fight, bought slaves to make soldiers of them, and the slaves became their masters. A guard of Seldjuk Turks was introduced into the palace. They filled it with disorder and violence and at their pleasure made or unmade sovereigns. The Abbassides fell into the condition of the French Sluggard Kings. Togrul Beg left to the caliph only an empty religious authority (1058) and founded the power of the Seldjuk Turks. In the ninth century Africa was detached from the Caliphate of Bagdad and divided up among three dynasties: the Edrissites at Fez, the Aglabites at Kairowan, and the Fatimites at Cairo. The latter claimed descent from Fatima, the daughter of Mohammed.

As for the Caliphate of Cordova, like that of Cairo, it had its brilliant days. Many Christians being treated mildly mingled with the Mussulmans and formed the active population of the Mozarabis. The ever-skillful Jews were relieved from the rigors of the Visigothic law. Commerce, industry, and agriculture flourished and afforded the caliphs great riches. Convulsed by the conquests of Charlemagne's lieutenants north of the Ebro, the Caliphate of Cordova was again shaken by the revolts of the valis, or provincial governors, and by the insurrection of the bandits, Beni-Hafsoun, which lasted for eighty years. The reigns of Abderrahman I (755), Hescham I (787), Al-Hakam I, and Abderrahman II were very fortunate. That of Abderrahman III surpassed all the rest (912-961). The successes of this caliph and of Almanzor, the chief minister of Hescham II, arrested on the Douro and the Ebro the progress of the Christian kingdoms founded in the north. But after Almanzor everything fell to pieces. An African guard

delivered the palace over to a sanguinary anarchy which favored the efforts of the valis at independence. In 1010 Murcia, Badajoz, Granada, Saragossa, Valentia, Seville, Toledo, Carmona, Algesiras, were so many independent principalities. In 1031 Hescham, the descendant of the Ommiades, was deposed and joyfully retired into obscurity. Shortly afterward the very title of caliph disappeared.

Arabic Civilization.—Such was the fate of the empire of the Arabs in the three continents, Asia, Africa, and Europe; a sudden and irresistible expansion, then division and a rapid general enfeeblement. But they had established their religion, their language, and the laws of their Koran over a great number of peoples, and transmitted to the Europe of the Middle Ages industries and sciences of which they were, if not the inventors, at least the diffusers. While Europe was plunged in thick shades of barbarism, Bagdad, Bassorah, Samarcand, Damascus, Cairo, Kairowan, Fez, Granada, Cordova, were so many great intellectual centers.

The Koran had determined the literary Arab language and it is preserved to our day just as Mohammed spoke it. Time and local influences have caused the vulgar tongue to undergo marked transformations. This Arabic, prodigiously rich in words which express the objects and impressions of the desert, nevertheless adapted itself to all the usages of literature and science. From the moribund school of Alexandria the Arabs had received Aristotle, whom they zealously commented. More than once the commentators were themselves philosophers worthy of consideration. Such were in the East, Avicenna; in the West, Averroes, who enjoyed fame in the Middle Ages because he had transmitted to the Christians of Europe the knowledge of the Stagirite.

The exact sciences received from Almanzor, the second of the Abbassides, a lively impulse, thanks to the learned men whom the caliphs attracted from Constantinople. As early as the first half of the ninth century two astronomers of Bagdad measured in the plain of Sennaar a degree of the meridian. Soon afterwards Euclid was

expounded, Ptolemy's tables corrected, the obliquity of the ecliptic more exactly calculated, the precession of the equinoxes and the difference between the solar year and the common year better determined, new instruments of precision invented, and at Samarcand an admirable observatory was founded. Still it is an error, though common, to attribute to the Arabs the invention of algebra and of the so-called Arabic figures which we use. Probably they only transmitted to Europe what they found in the learned school of Alexandria. We have from them in the same degree the compass and gunpowder. They excelled in medicine where again they were the pupils of the ancients, as was Averroes of Galen.

In architecture also they borrowed much from the Greeks. Their horseshoe arch belongs to the Byzantine style. They cultivated neither painting nor sculpture, because their religion forbade the representation of the human figure, but their arabesques are a form of ornamentation peculiar to themselves. The magnificent remains of this architecture can be seen at Cordova, Granada, and Cairo.

In agriculture and industry we have devised nothing superior to their system of irrigation, which the peasants of Valencia and Granada still practice. The reputation of the sword blades of Toledo, the silk of Granada, the blue and green cloths of Cuenca, the harnesses, saddles, and leather of Cordova, were celebrated throughout Europe. But this civilization like the empire in whose bosom it had blossomed disappeared almost as quickly as it was formed.

THE EMPIRE OF THE FRANKS. EFFORTS TO INTRODUCE UNITY IN CHURCH AND STATE

Difference between the Arab and German Invasions.—The Arab invasion began with unity of faith, command, and direction. It was ruined by schism, division, and weakness. The German invasion, made at random and solely for the sake of pillage under leaders united by no common idea, at first gave rise to a number of little kingdoms. It had, however, taken place in countries where the memory of the Roman Empire still lingered, and where a new principle of unity, that of the Church, had arisen. Thus after wandering for two centuries in confusion and amid the ruins which they had made, nearly all of those adventurers finally gathered under the scepter of one family, that of the Carlovingians, who tried to reconstitute the state and the government, while the Pope with his monks and bishops organized the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The harmony of these two powers caused the brilliancy of Charlemagne's reign. Their rivalry brought about the great struggle of the Middle Ages, or that between the priesthood and the empire.

Ecclesiastical Society.—The Roman Empire had perished, but so far the barbarians had erected upon its ruins only fragile structures. A single institution, the Church, traversed the centuries, developing regularly in accordance with the spirit of its life, constantly gaining in power and fortifying itself by the unity of its government. This society had in the beginning been thoroughly democratic with elected leaders. It emerged, mutilated but radiant, from the catacombs and the amphitheaters. Constantine bestowed upon it the Roman world. In the Councils it determined its dogmas and discipline. Thus it found itself possessed of a strictly regulated hierarchy, where only the highest dignities like the episcopacy and papacy were elective, while the inferior grades were conferred by the bishop. If we

consider territorial boundaries, the bishop governed the diocese which was divided somewhat later into parishes. Many dioceses united formed the ecclesiastical province of the archbishop or metropolitan, above whom rose the bishops of the great capitals with the title of patriarchs or primates.

In this picture we recognize the entire civil organization of the empire. Thus the authority, in which the whole mass of believers originally shared, was gradually withdrawn from the lower classes, handed over to the bishops, and ended in the West by becoming concentrated at the summit in the Pope. This ascent of religious authority, terminated only in our day by the proclamation of the dogma of papal infallibility, sums up the entire internal history of the Roman Catholic Church. But in the eighth century the sacerdotal monarchy had only traversed half the road, toward the end of which Boniface VIII was destined to lead it.

The bishop of Rome possessed great estates in Italy. He occupied in the most famous city of the universe that large place in the municipal system of government, which at the fall of the empire had been conferred upon the bishops. Thus the Pope, in addition to his spiritual authority, had means of action through the income of the property bestowed upon his Church, and an authority which was naturally increased at the fall of the Western Empire and of Theodoric. In temporal affairs he still remained subject to the emperor of Constantinople and to his representative in Italy, the exarch of Ravenna; but the yoke was light, thanks to distance and to the embarrassment of the exarch, whom the Lombards threatened and finally expelled.

Gregory the Great (690-704) did much for the development of the papal power. In the first place he saved Rome from an attack by the Lombards. Then he took an energetic part in the conversion of heretics and pagans, which before his time had gone on at random. He brought the Visigoths back into the pale of the Catholic Church, won to the faith England, Helvetia, and Bavaria, multiplied monasteries, where dwelt a faithful army under the rule of Saint Benedict, and drew

closer around the bishops the bond of discipline. His successors continued the work of missions. The new churches, daughters of Rome, showed for the mother church a respectful attachment. Holland and Friesland were evangelized. Saint Boniface, appointed by the Pope bishop of Germany in 723, was about to give to Rome those vast provinces.

Thus new Rome was again becoming a conqueror and dominant. Its chief still remained the subject of the emperor but a rupture was inevitable. When Justinian II wished to remove Pope Sergius, who rejected the canons of the Council in Trullo, the soldiers refused to obey. When Leo the Iconoclast ordered the images in Rome to be broken, the people drove the imperial prefect from the city and the Pope excited the Italians to revolt against the heretic prince (726). The Lombards took advantage of this controversy to sieze the exarchy of Ravenna and tried to lay hands on Rome. Then it was that Gregory III had recourse to the chief of the Austrasian Franks.

Charles Martel and Pepin the Short (715-768).—After the death of Pepin d'Heristal (715), Charles, his natural son, took possession of the mayorship with the consent of the vassals. He was a valiant man. At the battle of Tours (732) he forced the Arab invasion to retreat beyond the Pyrenees, and at one blow saved Christianity and German supremacy. On the east he defeated the Saxons and Bavarians, though leaving much to be done in that direction by his successors. In the south he undertook to subjugate Aquitaine, still restive under the authority of the chiefs of northern Gaul. His renown equaled his power. In 741 two nuncios from Gregory III brought him magnificent presents, the keys of the tomb of Saint Peter, the titles of consul and patrician, and a suppliant letter. The Pope was disposing of what did not belong to him; for the pontiff offered the conqueror of the Saracens the sovereignty of Rome together with the protectorate over the Roman Church. In his letter Gregory implored the aid of Charles Martel against an energetic and ambitious prince, Luitprand king of the Lombards, who wished to unite the whole

Italian peninsula under his sway. Although Luitprand was a Catholic, he was too near Rome. Gregory desired a more distant and hence a less exacting protector; and he granted a stranger what he refused to the Italian prince.

Charles had not time to reply to this appeal. He died in 741, and his sons, Carloman and Pepin, who succeeded him as mayors of the palace in Austrasia and Neustria, were at first too much occupied along their frontiers to think of Italy. But in 747, when Carloman had retired to the convent of Monte Cassino, Pepin despoiled his nephews and then decided to place upon his own brow the crown, that was only a mockery on the head of the Sluggard Kings. He consulted Pope Zacharias, and the latter replied that the title belonged to him who held the power. Saint Boniface revived for his benefit the Hebrew solemnity of consecration by Holy Unction (752). The last of the Merovingians was shut up in a convent. Two years later Pope Stephen II came to France to consecrate for the second time the mayor of Austrasia. Pepin repaid the Pope by giving him Pentapolis and the exarchate of Ravenna, which he took from the Lombards. Thus two important revolutions were effected simultaneously. The first was, that among the peoples, who had always practiced election to the royal power, the Church cleverly introduced the contrary doctrine of divine right, of which naturally she was the dispenser. The second was, that in exchange for this divine legitimacy, which suppressed the ancient legitimacy of election, the king prepared by his donations the temporal sovereignty of the Pope. Here were seen two new principles which dominated society for ten centuries, and which by a logical connection of things happened at the same time.

The other wars of Pepin the Short were directed against the Saxons, whom he vanquished; against the Saracens, from whom he wrested Septimania, and against the Aquitanians, whom he subdued after eight years of rapine and fighting.

Charlemagne, King of the Lombards and Patrician of Rome (774).—The second Frankish monarchy, founded by Pepin the Short, reached its zenith under Charle-

magne, who completed the work of his two predecessors and presented the greatest reign which the history of the German invasion records. Wherever his grandfather and father had fought, he carried on greater wars. The eastern frontier was threatened by the Saxons, Danes, Slavs, Bavarians, and Avars. He made eighteen expeditions against the Saxons, three against the Danes, one against the Bavarians, four against the Slavs, and four against the Avars. He made seven against the Saracens of Spain, five against the Saracens of Italy, five against the Lombards, and two against the Greeks. If to these we add those which he directed against several rebellious peoples already comprised in the Frankish Empire, as one against the Thuringians, one against the Aquitanians, and two against the Bretons, we have a total of fifty-three expeditions which Charlemagne conducted, for the most part in person.

He had at first shared the inheritance of Pepin with his brother Carloman (768). When that prince died three years afterward Charlemagne seized Austrasia, to the detriment of his nephews, who took refuge at the court of Didier, king of the Lombards. Thus he remained sole master. While winning his first victory over the Saxons, Pope Adrian I besought aid against Didier, who had invaded the exarchate. Charlemagne crossed the Alps, vanquished the Lombards whose king became a monk, threw the sons of Carloman into a convent, and made a triumphal entry into Rome, where he confirmed Pepin's donation to the Pope. To the title of king of the Franks he added that of king of the Lombards and of patrician, to which the sovereignty over Rome and over all the domains of the Holy See entitled him (774).

Conquest of Germany (771-804). **Spanish Expedition.** —The war against the Saxons was begun in 771 and lasted thirty-three years. This still barbarous people occupied the lower course of the Weser and Elbe. Still pagans, they adored the idol called Irminsul or Hermann-Saul, consecrated to the vanquisher of Varus. When Saint Libuin undertook to convert them, they butchered his companions. Charlemagne supported his

missionaries, who as spiritual conquerors were preparing the way for conquerors of another sort. He captured Ehresburg and broke Irminsul to pieces. Then appeared Witikind, the Hermann of another age. Against this valiant chieftain the most formidable expeditions long proved of no avail. When his countrymen were forced to swear allegiance to the victor at Paderborn (777), he fled to the depths of Germany and returned later on to rekindle the war. After the great victory of Buckholz, Charlemagne transported 10,000 Saxon families to Belgium and Helvetia. He deprived the Saxons who remained in their own country of their assemblies and their judges, put them under Frankish counts, and divided their territory "among the bishops, abbots, and priests, on condition that they should preach and baptize there." Many bishoprics were established. But Witikind, who had taken refuge among the Danes, again returned and defeated several Frankish generals. The massacre of 4000 Saxon prisoners excited a desperate insurrection. It required the two victories of Detmold and Osnabrück and a winter passed under arms in the snows of Saxony, to triumph over the obstinate Witikind, who at last consented to receive baptism. Saxony, deluged in blood, was obliged to accept the harsh laws which the victor imposed.

The submission of Bavaria had preceded that of Saxony. Its provinces were divided into counties and its last duke shut up in a monastery. Behind the Hungarians were the Avars, a Hunnic people, who had settled in ancient Pannonia, and in an immense camp called the Ring guarded the spoils of the world. After fierce conflicts a son of Charlemagne succeeded in getting possession of the Ring and imposed tribute on the remnants of this people.

On the south the Franks were less fortunate. The disaster of Roncesvaux, the resistance of the Vascons and of the Mussulmans of Spain allowed the Franks only outposts beyond the Pyrenees in the valley of the Ebro. Not until 812 could Louis, king of Aquitaine, the oldest son of Charlemagne, quarter his margraves south of the mountains.

By those wars the whole German race, excepting the Anglo-Saxons of Britain and the Northmen of Scandinavia, was united into a single group. The foreign and hostile peoples which touched its frontiers, the Slavs, Avars, and Arabs, were driven back or repressed. On the map of the world, instead of the confusion of preceding centuries, four great states were to be seen between the Indus and the Atlantic. These were the German and Greek Empires, and the Caliphates of Bagdad and Cordova.

Limits of the Empire.—The empire of Charlemagne had as its boundaries: on the north and west, the ocean from the mouth of the Elbe to the Spanish coast along the Bay of Biscay; on the south, the Pyrenees, and in Spain a part of the Ebro with, in Italy the Garigliano and Pescara, not including Gaeta which the Greeks retained, and in Illyricum the Cettina or Narenta, without including the cities of Trau, Zara, and Spalatro; on the east, the Bosna and the Sava to its junction with the Danube, the Theiss, the mountains of Bohemia, the Saale, the Elbe, and the Eyder.

Within this vast circle everything was subject. Around the Carlovingian empire tributary nations formed a protecting zone. Such were the Navarrese, the Beneventines, the North Elbe Saxons, and the Wiltzen, all held in check by the counts of the frontiers. Brittany and Bohemia had been ravaged but not conquered.

Charlemagne Emperor (800).—Beginning with 800 the master of this vast dominion was an emperor. During the Christmas festivals of that year, Pope Leo III placed upon his head the crown of the Cæsars. Thus was consummated the alliance between the supreme chief of German society and the supreme chief of the Church.

In assuming this title Charlemagne also reassumed all the rights of the emperors over Rome and over its bishops. Apparently therefore unity, concord, and peace were at last to be reëstablished in the western world. But on the contrary this resuscitation of the empire was to be fatal to all who brought it about or who rejoiced at it: to the emperor, who will not have the support of a wise administration and will consequently be unable

to carry this mighty burden; to Italy, who will lose thereby its independence for ten centuries. As to the two allies of 800, the Pope and the emperor, they will soon be bitter enemies and engage in the quarrel of investiture and the wars of the Guelphs and Ghibellines.

Government.—In spite of his Roman title, Charlemagne continued the chief of the German race and especially of the victorious Austrasian nation, whose language he spoke, whose costume he wore, and whose country he inhabited. Aix-la-Chapelle was his favorite residence. But he showed a wisdom which had nothing of the barbarian. Twice every year the national assembly met around him. The bishops, the leudes, the freemen, the imperial agents, betook themselves there from the ends of the empire to inform the sovereign of all that took place in their provinces. The nobles met apart from the crowd of freemen to discuss and draw up the capitularies, of which sixty-five still exist comprising 1151 articles on every subject of civil and ecclesiastical government.

Missi dominici, or imperial envoys, traversed four times annually the districts submitted to their inspection. They went in couples, always a count and a bishop together, so as to supplement each other and to provide for all the needs of both secular and religious society. On their return they were to give the emperor a report of the state of the provinces.

Justice was rendered by the provincial assemblies, no longer by all the freemen but by a certain number of provosts. A jury consisted of at least seven persons under the presidency of a count and with right of appeal to the missi dominici. Beginning with the seventh century there were no more public imposts. The monarch received only what was due him as a landed proprietor from his numerous dependents. His revenues thus included the harvests and other income of his domains, the personal and active service of the counts and royal beneficiaries, the gratuitous gifts of the nobles, and the tributes of conquered countries. The expenses of the prince and of his agents were defrayed by the proprietors over whose estates they passed. Moreover the

proprietors were to maintain the roads and bridges. The army furnished its own equipment and lived at its own cost without pay. The land which the soldier had received, was his recompense.

Charlemagne tried to dissipate the darkness which the invasions had brought upon the world. All literature had taken refuge in the monasteries, especially among those of the Benedictines. Their order was founded by Saint Benedict at the beginning of the sixth century. His rule required the copying of ancient manuscripts by the monks. To disseminate letters among his people, Charlemagne founded schools and compelled his officers to send their children to them. In his palace he himself established an academy of which he was a member. He commenced a Teutonic grammar and composed Latin poems. The principal literary persons of the period are Alcuin, an English monk whom he made Abbot of Saint Martin's of Tours, and Eginhard, his secretary and perhaps his son-in-law, who wrote his life.

Thus Charlemagne sought to bring order out of chaos and light out of darkness by organizing the German and Christian society, which he collected around the proud throne of the emperors of the West. This effort has caused his name to be placed among those before which the world bows down. Nevertheless the attempt was futile, because all the moral forces of the time and all the instincts and interests of the peoples were opposed to its success. Even in ancient Gaul, political unity could be preserved only by an able and resolute hand. Beyond the Rhine he had built the disorderly, fermenting tribes into a living barrier against the Slavs. It was much that modern Germany was to succeed old Germania. But the day when he received at Rome the crown of the emperors was an evil day for Italy. Thenceforth that beautiful land had a foreign and distant master, who visited her only with his barbarous and greedy hordes. Torrents of blood were shed and piles of ruins were heaped up for centuries in the attempt to carry on this part of Charlemagne's work. Saddest ruin of all, so long irreparable, was that of the people itself and of Italian patriotism.

Charlemagne himself felt that his political edifice could not last. The partition of his estates among his sons showed that even in his eyes the empire lacked real unity. Already the apparition of the Northmen pirates foretold the calamities which were to ensue.

THE LAST CARLOVINGIANS AND THE NORTHMEN

Weakness of the Carlovingian Empire. Louis the Debonair.—We have seen two immense empires formed in the seventh and eighth centuries by the side and at the expense of the Eastern Roman Empire. In the ninth the ancient continent changes its aspect. In place of the great blocks which formerly covered the face of Europe, Asia, and Africa, we no longer find anything but grains of sand.

The Gallo-Romans and the Italians spoke with slight differences a similar language, derived from the Latin. But the Germans retained their Teutonic idiom. Charlemagne left to the Lombards and Saxons their own laws. The Salian and Ripuarian Franks, the Alemanni and Bavarians, preserved theirs. Thus these peoples were not fused and welded in one. The will of Charlemagne was the only bond that held them together. After his death the efforts of the tributaries to obtain freedom and the attempt of their neighbors, Northmen, Slavs, Bretons, to begin again their invasions, showed that the whole prestige of the new empire depended upon its founder.

Furthermore the numerous partitions made among the sons and grandsons of the Debonair attested not only the ambition of those princes but also the tendency of the various peoples to separate. The first of these partitions took place in 817. It created two inferior kingdoms, Aquitaine and Bavaria, for Pepin and Louis, the second and third sons of the emperor. The eldest, Lothaire, was to inherit the empire. His brothers without his

consent could neither make war nor conclude a treaty. Bernard, king of Italy, nephew of the emperor, rebelled against this partition. He was defeated, his eyes were put out, and he died from the torture. His kingdom was given to Lothaire.

Louis had married as his second wife the beautiful and accomplished Judith, daughter of a Bavarian chief. She bore him a son and thenceforth exercised great influence. For this child Louis formed a kingdom composed of Alemannia, Rhætia, a part of Burgundy, Provence, and Septimania. His other sons took up arms against their father through anger at this partition. They made him prisoner and reaffirmed the division of 817. They could not agree among themselves and the Debonair was set free. Again his sons rebelled, and before a battle the emperor was deserted by his soldiers. He was declared by the bishops to have forfeited his crown, was shut up in a monastery at Soissons and clad in the garb of a penitent. In the following year he was restored to the throne and made a final partition in 839 favorable to his youngest son, Charles the Bald. His other sons were again resorting to arms when he died (840).

The Treaty of Verdun (843).—These shameful wars were partly due to the feebleness and partiality of the Debonair, but also to the unwillingness of his second and third sons to recognize the authority of their elder brother, who claimed for himself the imperial prerogatives of which the people wished to be rid. Lothaire demanded that even in the states of his brothers the oath of the freeman should be made to him. Pepin was dead, but the former adversaries, Louis the German and Charles the Bald, combined to resist this claim. A great battle took place at Fontanet near Auxerre. Almost all the peoples of the Carlovingian Empire took part in this grand encounter. Lothaire commanded the Italians, Aquitanians, and Austrasians; Louis, the Germans; Charles, the Neustrians and Burgundians. In the army of Lothaire 40,000 men are said to have been slain. He was defeated but refused to accept this "judgment of God." To compel his submission the two victors

formed a closer alliance and confirmed it by an oath, which Louis the German swore in the Roman language before the soldiers of Charles the Bald, and Charles swore in German before those of Louis (842). These two oaths, the "Oath of Strasburg," are the two most ancient monuments we possess of the French and German languages.

Lothaire yielded. The treaty of Verdun (843) divided the Carlovingian Empire into three parts. Lothaire, with the title of emperor, secured all Italy as far as the Duchy of Beneventum and from the Alps to the North Sea a long strip of land separating the states of his brothers. This share included the Netherlands, Lorraine, Burgundy, Switzerland, Dauphiné, and Provence. All which lay to the west of this tract, called Lotharingia, fell to Charles the Bald. All which lay to the east, to Louis the German. This partition differed greatly from any made by the Merovingians. We see in it the first demarcations of the modern nations of France and Germany. The part of Lothaire alone was ephemeral. The other two were destined to aggrandize themselves from its fragments.

Charles the Bald (840-877).—He did not really reign over the whole of Gaul. The Bretons kept their independence and Aquitaine for a long time would not submit.

When Lothaire died his estates were divided among his three sons. Louis II had Italy, with the title of emperor; Charles, the country between the Alps and the Rhone under the name of Provence; Lothaire II, the country between the Meuse and the Rhine called Lotharingia. All three died without issue. Louis the German survived them only a few years. Charles the Bald endeavored to place all their crowns upon his head, but was unable to defend his cities against the Northmen and his authority against the nobles.

Progress of Feudalism.—The possessors of fiefs, or lands ceded for a time, and of crown offices, claimed that their fiefs and offices were hereditary. This assumption was always opposed by Charlemagne, but tolerated and even approved by Charles. He also allowed possessors

of allodial lands to seek the protection of the holders of great fiefs. At the same time the immunities, or exemptions from payments and from the king's jurisdiction, were multiplied. Thus the royal authority was recognized by neither the powerful nor the weak.

The Northmen took advantage of these disorders. They landed along the coasts, ascended the rivers, and sacked the cities. In 845 they pillaged the Abbey of Saint Germain des Près at the very gates of Paris. Yearly they became more rapacious. Charles the Bald paid them money to go away, thereby insuring their speedy return. Only Robert the Strong, who as duke of France held the country between the Seine and the Loire, offered energetic resistance. This Robert, ancestor of the Capetian dynasty, many times defeated the invaders and died fighting these pirates.

Deposition of Charles the Fat. Seven Kingdoms.—Louis II the Stammerer, son of Charles the Bald, and his sons, Louis III and Carloman, had miserable reigns. They died childless and the crown was offered to Charles the Fat, the son of Louis the German. He had united Germany and bore the title of emperor. The empire of Charlemagne was thus reconstituted for a brief time. But it was only the shadow of a great past. Emperor though he was, Charles could not repulse the Northmen who besieged Paris. The city was saved by Eudes, a reputed son of Robert the Strong.

Disgusted at the cowardice of the king, the Germans deposed him at the diet of Tribur (887). Seven kingdoms were formed from the fragments of the empire: Italy, Germany, Lorraine, France, Navarre, and two Burgundies. Besides, Brittany and Aquitaine were independent in fact if not in law. The imperial crown remained in Italy, where petty sovereigns wrangled over it among themselves.

Eudes and the last Carlovingians (887-987).—Despite the opposition of the nobles, the brave Count Eudes occupied the throne. His premature death in 898 caused the accession of Charles III the Simple, a posthumous son of Louis the Stammerer.

Under this prince the incursions of the Northmen

ceased, because, after having seized booty so long, they now seized the country itself. The treaty of Saint-Clair-sur-Epte ceded to Rollo, their terrible chief, the country between the Andelle and the ocean with the hand of the king's daughter and the title of duke. In return he paid homage and became a Christian (911). Neustria, henceforth called Burgundy, became prosperous under the rule of this active prince. Charles, whose surname indicates his feebleness, was deposed in 922 and died in captivity in the tower of Péronne. The nobles elected in his stead Robert, Duke of France, and afterwards his son-in-law Raoul, Duke of Burgundy. In 935 another Carlovingian king appeared in Louis IV d'Outremer, son of Charles the Simple, whom Hugh the Great, Duke of France, twice seated on the throne and twice overthrew. His son, Lothaire, succeeded him (954), but was reduced to the possession of the single city of Laon. On his deathbed he entreated Hugh Capet, Duke of France, to protect his son Louis V. The latter reigned only one year. Hugh Capet was proclaimed king in an assembly of the principal bishops and nobles of northern France. Two important factors of this enthronement must be noted. They are, that the Capetians had the Church for an ally from the very beginning, and that the crown, now united to a great fief, could thenceforth defend itself unaided.

THE THIRD INVASION

The New Invasion.—The invasion which assailed the second Western Empire four centuries after the Germans had destroyed the first or Western Roman Empire, was a powerful cause in the dissolution of the Carlovingian monarchy. The movement of attack proceeded from three points, from the north, south, and east, and was so prolonged toward the west as to envelop the whole empire. The Northmen were the first to appear.

The Northmen in France.—The Franks, after attaining the western limits of Gaul, had voltefaced and swept back from west to east the floods of men who had poured upon the Roman provinces. Then they undertook to subjugate Thuringia, Bavaria, and Saxony. Their foes retreated toward the north to the Cimbrian and Scandinavian peninsulas, where dwelt populations of their own blood. The Northmen, restrained by the military organization which Charlemagne had given his eastern frontier, and by the Slavs who occupied the country of the Oder, found everything before them shut up except the sea. So they launched upon the water, "the path of the swans." Familiar with its tempests, the vikings or children of the fiords were daunted by no peril. "The hurricane bears us on," they said, "wherever we wish to go." At first coasting along the shores for pillage and slaughter, they gradually established themselves at favorable points and thence roamed all over the country.

In this way they took possession of the Walcheren Islands at the mouth of the Scheldt, and of other places at the mouths of the Rhine, Seine, and Loire. In 840 they burned Rouen. Three years later they pillaged Nantes, Saintes, and Bordeaux. Repeatedly they ravaged the outskirts of Paris, sacked Tours, Orleans, and Toulouse, and reached the Mediterranean. A royal edict ordered the counts and vassals to repair the castles and build new ones. Soon the country was well fortified. The invaders, checked at every step, began to wish to settle in some safe and fertile spot. In 911 Neustria was assigned them. Their devastations, continued almost a century, had prepared the way for feudalism.

The Northmen Danes in England.—The Northmen had robbed France and the Netherlands of both security and property. From England they took her independence besides. In 827 the Saxon Heptarchy formed but one monarchy under Egbert the Great. He repulsed the first Danes who landed upon his shores. After his death they occupied Northumberland, East Anglia, and Mercia. Alfred the Great (871) arrested their progress and gave his kingdom an organization, the main features of which

have been preserved. These are: division of the country into counties; dispensation of justice by twelve freeholders as a jury; decision of general affairs by the wittenagemot or assembly of the wise, aided by a half-elective, half-hereditary monarchy. Athelstane, one of his successors, vanquished the Danes "on the day of the great fight" and drove them from England. But they soon reappeared led by Olaf, king of Norway, and Swein or Sueno, king of Denmark, who carried off enormous booty. Gold not proving an effectual means of getting rid of them, Ethelred devised a vast plot. All the Danes who were settled in England were massacred on Saint Brice's day in 1002. Swein avenged his countrymen by expelling Ethelred and assuming the title of king of England in 1013. Edmund II Ironsides fought heroically but in vain against Canute, who succeeded Swein, and the whole country recognized the Danish sway. Canute was at first cruel, but grew milder. By wedding Emma, the widow of Ethelred, he paved the way for the union of the victors and the vanquished. He made wise laws or enforced those of Alfred the Great and prevented the Danes from oppressing the Saxons. To Scandinavia he sent Saxon missionaries who hastened the fall of expiring paganism. In 1027 he made a pilgrimage to Rome, where in behalf of all England he assumed the obligation of paying each year one penny per hearth to the Pope. This contribution was called Peter's Pence.

Thus in France the Northmen took only a province. In England they seized a kingdom. On both sides of the Channel these robbers showed the same aptitude for civilization, and the fierce heathen became excellent Christians. Rollo in Normandy was a stern judicial officer and Canute deserved the name of the Great.

The Northmen in the Polar Regions and in Russia.— The larger number of these hardy adventurers descended toward the south, where they found wine and gold. Others worked their way through the Baltic to the very end of the Gulf of Finland, or climbed above the North Cape, for the joy of seeing the unknown and doing the impossible. In 861 they made their appearance in the

Faröe Islands; in 870 in Iceland, and a century later in Greenland, whence they reached Labrador and Vinland, the country of the Vine. Thus they were in America four or five centuries before Columbus! Their exiles, the Varangians, penetrated at the same time by way of the Baltic to the center of the Slavs, and sold their services to the powerful city of Novgorod, which their leader, Rurik, subjugated (862). He assumed the title of grand prince, and began the state which has become the Russian Empire.

As the Arabs, when they emerged eastward and westward from their parched peninsula, had spread from India to Spain without quitting their native southern regions, so the Northmen, starting from their sterile peninsulas, reached America and the Volga and still remained in northern latitudes. The former had in certain respects an original civilization. The latter, mastered by Christianity, were in no way different from the rest of the Christian nations.

The Saracens and the Hungarians.—The Saracens were the Arabs of Africa who, leaving their brethren to conquer provinces, took the sea for their domain and ravaged all the shores of the western Mediterranean. Tunis, or the ancient province of Carthage, was their point of departure. As early as 831 they subdued Sicily and passed over to the Great Land, as they called Italy. They seized Brindisi, Bari, and Tarentum, repeatedly laid waste southern Italy, and even ravaged the outskirts of Rome. Malta, Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearic Isles belonged to them. They settled permanently in Provence at Fraxinet, which they retained until toward the close of the tenth century. They had posts in the defiles of the Alps to exact toll from commerce and pilgrimage. Thence their raids extended into the valleys of the Rhone and Po. This piracy was more terrible and more audacious than that organized in the sixteenth century by Khaireddin Barbarossa, which France suppressed only in 1830.

In the valley of the Danube, through which came the Hungarians, the invasion had not ceased since the time of Attila. There the human streams had pressed upon

each other like successive waves of the sea, driven on by the tempest. After the Huns came the Slavs who still remain there; then the Bulgarians, the Avars whom Charlemagne exterminated, the Khazars, the Petchenegs who have disappeared, and lastly a mixture of Hunnic and Ugrian tribes, which the Latins and the Greeks called Hungarii or Hungarians and who gave themselves the name of Magyars. Summoned by Arnulf, king of Germania, against the Slavs of Moravia, they quickly subjected the plains of the Theiss and of Pannonia. In 899 they ravaged Carinthia and Friuli. The following year they launched their bold horsemen on both sides of the Alps into the basin of the Po, the upper valley of the Danube, and even to the other side of the Rhine. Alsace, Lorraine, and Burgundy were devastated. The hordes of the third invasion, the Northmen, Saracens, and Hungarians, seemed to have appointed a meeting-ground in the heart of France and they left there an awful memory. Germany at last made mighty efforts to rid herself of these invaders. Henry the Fowler defeated them on the field of Merseburg (934), and his son Otto I slew, it is said, 100,000 at the battle of Augsburg (955). This disaster hurled them back into the country which they still inhabit.

The ruinous expeditions of the Magyars had the same result as those of the Northmen. In Italy the cities surrounded themselves with walls for the purpose of defense, just as the country districts of France bristled with castles, and the Italians reorganized their military forces, which enabled them to regain their municipal independence. Austria was in the beginning a margrave's fief, formed for military purposes against the Hungarians. The margravate of Brandenburg, in which Prussia originated, played the same part against the Slavs. These two immense territorial fortresses at last arrested the Eastern hordes in that westward march which had begun in the early periods of history. The Mongols in the thirteenth century and the Ottoman Turks in the fifteenth, still obeying this primitive impulse, will make mere temporary inroads upon the Slavic world and will be forced to halt at the frontiers of the

Teutonic race. No more new peoples are to be received into the countries which formed the Western Roman Empire.

The invasion of the ninth century had as a consequence the foundation of new governing forces in Russia, Pannonia, Normandy, and England. All these countries were situated on the outer verge of the ancient world. Within that ancient world its attacks had disturbed the states founded by the Germans, produced confusion, and hastened the progress of feudal anarchy.